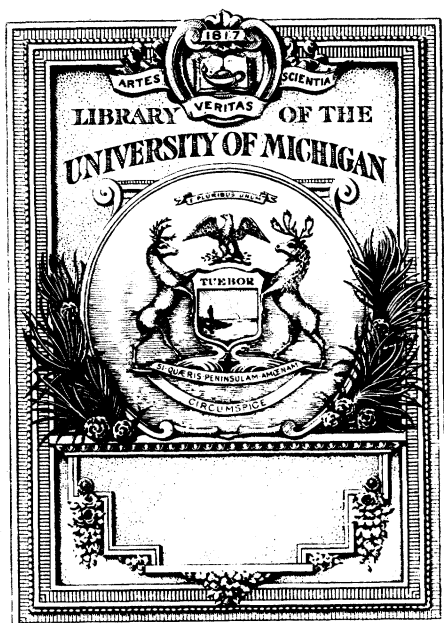


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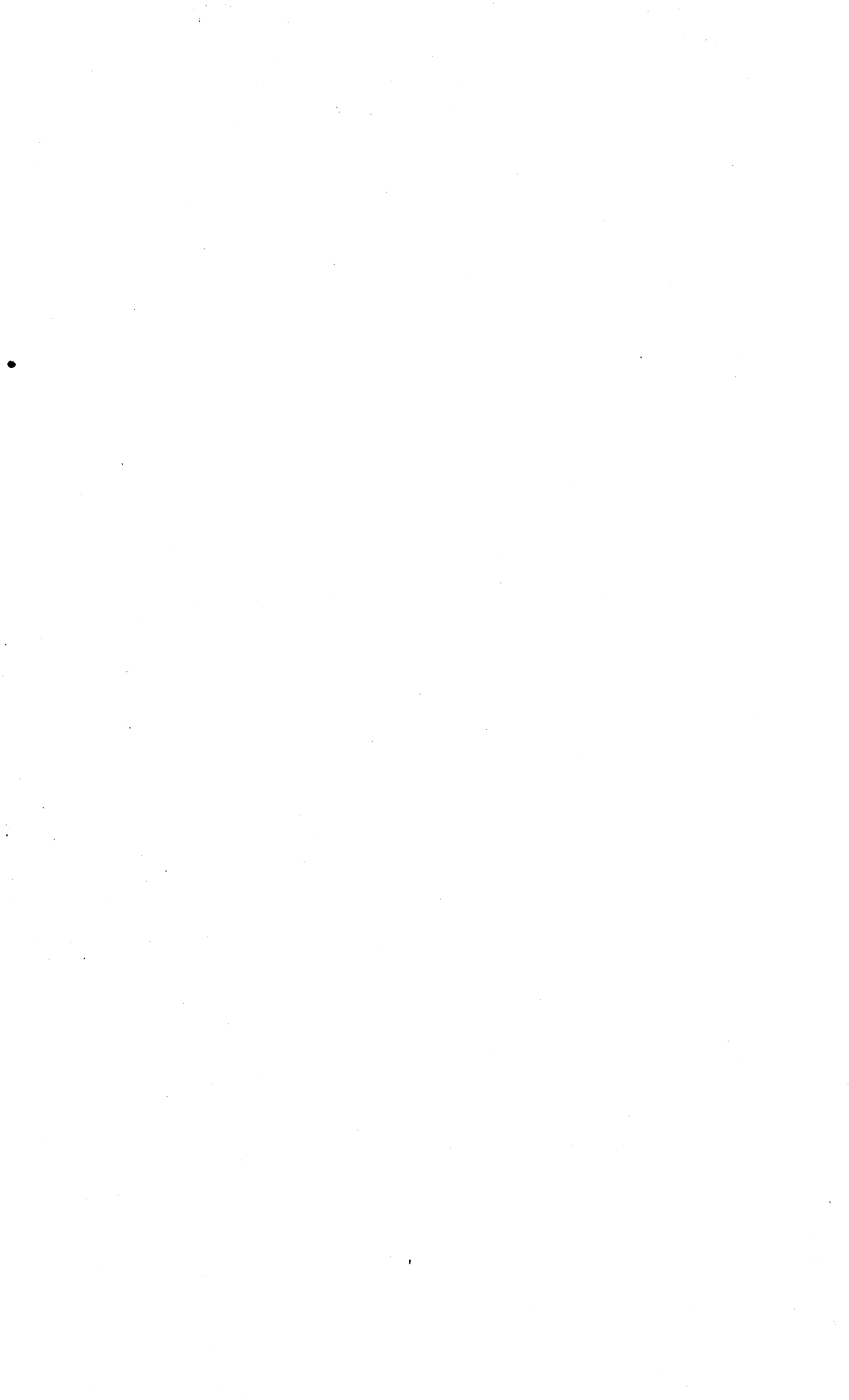
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JULY

1901

ANNALS
OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY
OF
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

America's Race Problems.

Addresses at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the American
Academy of Political and Social Science,
April 12-13, 1901.

SPECIAL ANNUAL MEETING NUMBER.

NOTE.—In order to preserve the unity of the discussion of “America’s Race Problems” and to prevent the undue lengthening of this number, the usual Departments have been omitted. They will be resumed with the September issue.

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I. The Races of the Pacific.

**The Natives of Hawaii: A Study of
Polynesian Charm.**

By Titus Munson Coan, A. M., M. D., New York.

JULY

1901

ANNALS
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THE NATIVES OF HAWAII: A STUDY OF
POLYNESIAN CHARM.

By TITUS MUNSON COAN, A. M., M. D.,
Of New York.

The eastern or brown Polynesian race, the Savaioris as they have been called, to distinguish them from other Oceanic races, have very definite characteristics, physical and mental. They are most nearly related to the Cambojan group, "their true affinities being with the Caucasians of Indo-China" (Keane). They are in no way, however distantly, related to the negro. Their habitat is in the southern and eastern Pacific Ocean, where they occupy Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, the Marquesas, Tuamotu, Tokelau, Ellice, Rotuma, New Zealand, the eastern Fijis, Tarawa, Manega, Phoenix and Lagoon Islands, Easter Island, and in the north Pacific the Hawaiian group.

In all these islands and groups, however widely separated geographically, we find a people that is essentially one in blood, language, usages, traditions and religion. They rank high among races. Keane says: "They are one of the finest races of mankind, Caucasian in all essentials; distinguished by their symmetrical proportion, tall stature, aver-

aging five feet ten inches, and handsome features. Cook gives the palm to the Marquesas islanders, 'who for fine shape and regular features surpass all other natives.' Lord George Campbell remarks: "There are no people in the world who strike one at first so much as these Friendly Islanders [Tongans]. Their clear, light copper-brown colored skins, yellow and curly hair, good-humored and handsome faces,—their *tout ensemble* formed a novel and splendid picture of the *genus homo*; and as far as physique and appearance go they gave one certainly an impression of being a superior race to ours." The Savaioris are similarly described by most of the leading observers. They are also among the kindest, most gentle-mannered and generous people in the world, and but for the oppressions of their priests and kings would have been the happiest.

What are the causes of this exceptional development? Under what conditions, material and psychical, has that development taken place? Only the briefest answer can be attempted here, and that only for one typical group, the Hawaiian. Some of the main conditions of this development were the following:

1. *Geography, orography*.—The largest island, Hawaii, has an area of four thousand square miles; the group stretches four hundred miles from northwest to southeast, and all the principal islands had rival kings. Frequent wars, naval excursions and invasions were the result. The islands are all mountainous, offering secure fastnesses to the contending factions, and the ancient Hawaiians developed a good fighting physique.

2. *Climate*.—The Hawaiian climate is the most equable tropical climate in the world. It is never, as in other tropical islands, excessively hot. The usual range of temperature is from 70° to 80° Fah.; at the sea level it never falls below 55° Fah., nor does it ever exceed 90°. Hurricanes and typhoons are absolutely unknown. This uniformity and this immunity are due to an ocean current from the

north, which tempers the winds and laves the island coasts in an ever-flowing stream at a temperature of about 70°.

The innocent Hawaiian climate favored the habit of outdoor life, which was almost universal, the native huts being used only for sleeping places and for protection from the rain. It also developed aquatic and seagoing habits. The nearness of the islands to each other, the gentle winds, the sea, never violently tempestuous, though often rough, these made the natives the most powerful and daring swimmers in the world, trained them in fishing and seagoing, and tempted them away on long ocean voyages—as far as to the Society Islands, 2,000 miles to the southward. In fishing, too, they became great experts.

3. The *soil* was in large part fertile. This, with the favoring climate, made but a few weeks' labor in the year necessary. The natives did not exert themselves toilsomely in agriculture. Their principal food was the root of the taro; this being nearly all starch, it produced great obesity, especially in the chiefs, who, having much to eat and not much to do, grew excessively fat.

4. *Negative Conditions*.—The total absence of wild beasts and noxious vermin, as well as of destructive tempests and temperatures, was favorable to the psychical development and the genial content of the islanders. Nature had no terrors for them; even the great volcanic eruptions of Mauna Loa and Kilauea, exceeding in magnitude all others on record, were very seldom destructive of human life; nor did the violent earthquakes do more than jostle the grass cottages of the dwellers in this lotos land.

The Hawaiians thus enjoyed, in the main, very peaceable conditions of existence. They were indeed harassed by the tabu and by the wars of their chieftains; but the struggle for life, as known in more densely populated countries, was not known to them. They found time for some forms of culture. They had no plastic art; metals were unknown, and they never attained more than a limited skill in mechani-

cal arts: but in poetry there was an interesting development, in the form of sonorous chants or *meles* couched in a peculiar poetic diction; in these were embodied the exploits and the lives of their heroes, as well as their traditions, mythology, and even their astronomical, botanical and animal lore.

They had a very acute eye for nature. Their language is full of terms for all visible things and doings; but it was little capable of expressing general conceptions, such as time, goodness, temperance, virtue; thus there were many synonyms for rain and sunlight, calm and storm, but no word for weather. This deficiency caused much trouble to the missionaries in the task of translating the Scriptures into the native tongue. The things most valued by the natives in old times were the sticks of Oregon pine, which at long intervals came drifting to the islands from the northwest coast, and were eagerly seized to be fashioned into war canoes. It is said that when the translator came to the passage in the Epistles, reading: "Add to your faith knowledge, and to your knowledge temperance, and to your temperance virtue," he appealed to his native assistant for the Hawaiian word for virtue, which he described as the most desirable of all possessions. The native was puzzled; neither the conception of virtue, as we understand it, nor any corresponding word, existed in Hawaiian; but at last he said: "I understand you now," and gave the missionary a word which made the passage read: "Add to your faith knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance a stick of Oregon pine."

Here then we have a community under most favoring conditions for happiness, a good climate and soil, an abounding sea, and freedom from the terrors of nature. Supported by a few days' labor in the month, the natives had leisure to cultivate poetry, dancing, games, and the social pleasures, together with the virtues of kindness, courtesy, and generosity. "The social and family affections," says Fornander,

"were as strong in the old Hawaiians as in any modern people, Christian or pagan." They divided their possessions with their friends, and took pleasure in doing it. Lazy and greedy persons were not wholly unknown among them; but they had their punishment—they were stigmatized by such terms as *hoapili mea ai*, a friend for the sake of a dinner.

Briefly, here were a happy people. And why? Because they were exempt from the régime of competition—there was food for all; in time of peace at least there was no struggle for life. But why, again, was this? why this exemption from the usual fate of man?

The usual answer is that which we may seem to have given already—the fertile soil, the genial climate, the abounding sea, the entire absence of noxious natural forces. But this, like other usual answers, explains nothing; it is no answer at all. In countries like Java, Ceylon, and large parts of India and China we find natural conditions not indeed absolutely so favorable as these, yet nearly so; but these are the very countries that have suffered terribly from overcrowding and famine. In Hawaii the conditions are those which elsewhere have produced over-population, and its resulting degradation; yet in Hawaii there was no over-population; although they had their hard times they had no destructive famines. During the nineteen years of my residence there, there were sometimes shortages in the taro and sweet potato crops; the natives went into the woods, and dug up a kind of fern that had a succulent, starchy root, and with this and a little fish they eked out an existence; but destructive famines are not in their record.

What then is the explanation of the Polynesian immunity from the struggle for life, and from the misery and debasement that accompany it? Why were not these islands crowded, like countries under the old civilizations, with millions of people whose entire energies are spent in the effort to earn, not a living, but half a living or less?

The data for the answer have long been before the student,

yet the true answer as I think has not yet been given. The ancient Hawaiian's exemption from the struggle for life, and the effect of this exemption on his character, were not due to climate, or to soil, or to any physical conditions; none of these things gave the Samoan, the Tahitian, the Tongan, Hawaiian, his joyous temperament, his winning manners, his generous heart.

Throughout Polynesia the struggle for life was evaded by restricting the natural increase of population. By this restriction the population was kept down to the means of comfortable subsistence; there was food enough for all; the community lived under no economic stress; and in consequence it attained, as we have seen, this remarkable development of genial and generous traits and of material happiness.

Now this has a direct illustrative bearing, as it seems to me, on the greatest of social problems—the lessening of human suffering, the augmentation of human happiness. No sane thinker would advocate a resort to the barbarous and wasteful infanticide of the Polynesians; but in all overpopulated communities to-day, and throughout the world in the not distant future, the great question must be this: How to limit the mere quantity, and how to improve the quality of the population.

To some this problem seems to lack actuality, as long as any corner of the world remains uncrowded; and emigration is proposed as a cure. But, in the first place, emigration on a sweeping scale is an impossibility. Imagine the population of a great city being called upon to emigrate; where are the means to come from? What would become of the people if deported in masses? Few of them could attach themselves to the soil. In a word, the relief of emigration is not feasible except on a limited scale; for more reasons than one, it is impossible in a majority of cases. But suppose emigration were possible. How long would the relief thus given endure? Only for a few years. As commonly after wars and famines, the population would

spring up more rapidly than before, and the gap would soon be filled. Neither in the old world nor the new has the poverty of crowded cities ever been cured by emigration.

Now consider other schemes of alleviating misery, poverty, crime; put any other theory of reform to the test, and you meet the same difficulty. Some theorists regard a better education as a cure-all; some would seek relief in improved legislation, others in a better knowledge of the laws of health; others in finding employment for the poor, in wisely directed charities; others say in morals, the Sermon on the Mount; others in religion, culture, philosophy. All of these are good and desirable, but none of them touch the essential point; none would prevent the overcrowding of the poorer population. Suppose any of these reforms actually carried out. Would any of them, would all of them together, materially check the multiplication of the unfit? The eternal law of Malthus survives; its cruel action is little hindered by any of the popular philanthropies. They have been ineffectual in the past, they will be found ineffectual in the future. The only effective relief of human suffering will be found in checking the multiplication of the unfit—in the intelligent limiting of mere numbers, and the consequent improvement of quality. It is the most difficult of reforms, because both State, Church, and popular opinion (especially among men), are against it, yet it is a problem that grows in importance with each new generation. The restriction of population in France, while it is disadvantageous as long as a nation's virtue is measured by the size of its armies, is a step in the right way.

The reform that is most needed in the world is one of a distant future; it is to look for quality, not mere quantity of life, and to put humane and scientific checks upon over-population. Only in this way will the cruel struggle for existence ever be lessened; only thus will future generations suppress poverty, disease and crime, the vicious circle which is the despair of civilization.

At the conclusion of Dr. Coan's address the following colloquy took place between him and persons in the audience:

DR. MARTIN: Has that restriction of population to the means of subsistence in the islands been continued?

DR. COAN: No. Since the islands have passed under modern civilization, the condition which I mentioned no longer exists. For other reasons the native population is not increasing, but there is no longer that artificial restriction. Indeed, the native government of no long time ago encouraged the raising of large families.

MR. MCGIBBONEY: I have a friend who spent a number of years in Hawaii, who says they not only have no name for sexual virtue, but none of the principles of virtue. Is that true?

DR. COAN: Technically that would be true. That is to say, the Polynesian idea of virtue is different from ours. Some one has said that virtue in Polynesia was regarded as an elegant accomplishment, but not as a necessity.

MR. MCGIBBONEY: Did that circumstance cause the decrease in population since the arrival of the whites?

DR. COAN: I would not say that was the cause; it was due, as Darwin has pointed out, to infertility resulting from changed conditions of living. But the point that Mr. Darwin inquired about was regarding the prevalence of infanticide, and whether male or female children were more frequently sacrificed.

MR. CROXTON: I would like to ask if the present decrease, or lack of increase of population, is not partly chargeable to their having put on clothing?

DR. COAN: Undoubtedly; that was one of their changed conditions of living. The mischief came about in two ways. The docile natives were delighted with the idea of wearing clothes, and nothing gave them more pleasure than the bright-colored calico prints; these would not wash, so they would throw them off when the rain came down, and run into the church half-naked, or more than half, and nobody thought

anything of it. But they wore their clothes quite irregularly; their skins became tender, and, they were constantly catching cold. In my father's great church there was often such a tempest of coughing and sneezing that you could hardly hear his strong voice. Another vice of the clothes-wearing habit was that the natives would not take off their garments when they got wet, and illness resulted from that cause. Epidemics of small-pox, measles, influenza, decimated the people. *Pax vobiscum*, said the priest to the native; *pox vobiscum*, said the sailor and trader. Yet these diseases were not the essentially destructive agencies; they are not now more prevalent there than elsewhere, and the climate is exceptionally healthy. The passing away of the Hawaiians and of the other Polynesians was inevitable from the moment that the first European visitor stepped under the coconut groves. The island character, with its faults, its follies, and its charms, is disappearing under the total régime of the white man. Not until the world shall learn how to limit the quantity and how to improve the quality of races will future ages see any renewal of such idyllic life and charm as that of the ancient Polynesian.

The Races of the Philippines: The Tagals

By Rev. Charles C. Pierce, D. D., Chaplain U. S. Army

THE RACES OF THE PHILIPPINES—THE TAGALS.

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The program for this session is unusually accurate in comparison with customary announcements, in that it refers to "The Races of the Philippines" rather than to "The Filipinos." The word "Filipino" is a misnomer unless it is used in the sense prevalent in Manila. Strictly speaking, a Filipino is one born in the Philippine Islands, regardless of parentage. The word is not definitive of race or nationality. In accurate use it merely marks the place of birth.

In the same way it is inaccurate to refer to the "Filipino *people*," as has so often been done, with a display of vocal pyrotechnics, in the campaign against the American occupancy of the islands. When we speak of a "people," there is involved in the term some idea of political cohesion or national fusion. Such a condition may be developed during future decades if the paternal government shall foster the idea, but at the present time there is such a heterogeneous array of tribes, about eighty in all, that a "Filipino people" cannot be said to exist.

"The Races of the Philippines" is, then, a much more fitting denomination of the inhabitants of our far-off possessions, and in the debates upon the wisdom of annexation with which our people will amuse themselves for months to come, it were well to have this distinction between a people and an aggregation of races kept constantly in mind. For, given "a people," we are well on the road toward a discussion of the question of self-government; but, as in the present case, where the premise is unable to state the existence of "a people," the argument for popular sovereignty cannot logically proceed.

There is a Tagal people, and it is of the Tagals that I am asked to speak, as one of the races of the Philippines; a people among whom I have lived for two and a half years.

I do not remember having heard of any discussion of the desirability of granting independence to the Tagal people. So far as I have noted the alleged argument, it has been practically one in behalf of the propriety of giving the Tagals the right to govern all the tribes in the archipelago.

In every discussion, the diversity of tribes and dialects must be borne in mind, as well as intertribal prejudices and animosities.

So wide is the gap between the Tagals and the Macabebes, for instance, as to make the hatred hereditary, and our government, in using the latter as scouts, has but adopted a rule of warfare which racial antipathies have made advantageous and by which Spain had formerly profited.

One of our house-boys at the headquarters house of the Fourteenth Infantry, who belonged to another tribe, accounted it a gross insult to be mistaken for a Tagal. Between the Visayans and the Tagals no love is lost.

The Igorrotes, those mountaineer neighbors of the Tagals in Luzon, were so little influenced by the glimmer of Aguinaldo's dictatorship that they steadily refused to make common cause with him. When found, with their bows and arrows, facing American troops at the beginning of hostilities, they declared that this alleged Washington (?) had deceived them; having invited them down to a feast, only that they might encounter American bullets and so commit and entangle themselves as to be drawn into battle. The ruse failed and the breach between Tagal and Igorrote widened.

The Tagal is not even the original possessor of the land. He is a Malay or of Malay descent; an alien. This consideration is also important, as it deprives him of the right to the sympathy sought in his behalf by those who have never seen him, on the ground that our government of the archipelago robs him of his political birthright.

The Tagal tribe is not aboriginal. The first known inhabitants were the Aetas or Negritos; a race of small stature, but otherwise much resembling the African negro. And the present tribes are the result of Malay incursions and probably amalgamation between the native and the immigrant.

If sympathy is to be shown on the ground of original claim to territory, it should be given to the Negritos, who still may be found, with their nomadic habits, or serving as menials in Tagal families.

The fact that the Tagals were intruders, or the product of such intrusion, may deprive them of the right to some measure of sympathy heretofore accorded them in certain quarters, and yet their appearance on Philippine soil was doubtless one of the first steps leading to ultimate civilization; the Spanish conquest was another; and now the American occupation, with its breadth of ideas, its advance in ethics, and its adaptation to the wants of an aspiring population, is destined, we believe, to complete the evolution of civilization, and to weld a people, to prepare them for suffrage and to lead them on to the highest of civic attainments—the ability to govern themselves.

The Tagals are not alone in the possession of the single island of Luzon. There are the Pangasinanes, numbering 300,000; the Pampangoes, with quite or nearly equal numbers, the census of 1876 quoting their population as 294,000; and others. The Tagal population, mainly in Luzon, though found in some other islands also, numbers 1,500,000. The Visayan population in 1877, exclusive of the less domesticated tribes in the Visayan group, was 2,000,000. So that the right of the Tagal to dominate the politics of the archipelago must be further modified by the consideration that his race, with all its degrees of mixture, constitutes only one-sixth of the population.

The discussion of native traits is made difficult by the fact that it is hard to find the original Tagal, unmixed in blood or influenced by racial environment.

The advent of the foreigner has added a new factor to the racial problem, and the Mestizos, or people of mixed blood, are found in considerable numbers. It is a curious ethnological study, this mixture of Malay and Mongol, and the racial amalgamation which combines European and Asiatic characteristics in the same personality.

The Mestizo-Espanol, or the mixture of Spanish and native blood, numbering not less than 75,000, and probably very many more, presents the type of native aristocracy—the people who measure their superiority by the lightness of their complexion, and who habitually refer to the pure-blooded natives in disdain or commiseration as “Indios” or Indians.

Foreman, in a few words characterizes them: “We find them on the one hand striving in vain to disown their affinity to the inferior races, and on the other hand jealous of their true-born European acquaintances. A morosity of disposition is the natural outcome. Their character generally is evasive and vacillating. They are captious, fond of litigation, and constantly seeking subterfuges. They appear always dissatisfied with their lot in life and inclined to foster grievances against whoever may be in office over them.”

The Mestizo-Chino, or the mixture of Chinese and native, who represents a population of half a million in the archipelago and fully one-sixth of the population of the city of Manila, may be referred to as the commercial type, although many of the Spanish Mestizos have likewise achieved success in business.

The Mestizo-Japones, or Japanese mixture, while represented in much smaller numbers than either of the other classes, presents a famous type of quaint Oriental beauty.

But it seems to be the ethnologic law that miscegenation involves an eclecticism in vices, and it is not strange to read from the pen of a Spanish writer that these mixtures have not yet accomplished much for the moral welfare of the people. He says: “We have now a querulous, discon-

tented population of half castes, who, sooner or later, will bring about a distracted state of society and occupy the whole force of the government to stamp out the discord."

Aside from the Mestizo element, it is hard to find the original characteristics of the Tagals. For instance, they are referred to as being an innately religious people, but the Roman Church has been among them for four hundred years, and it is not easy to say how much of this religious habit has been acquired. Certainly the form of its manifestation is markedly so. The law under which the Tagal has lived has for centuries been either Spanish or that of the Roman Church, and the most gradual change must, in the lapse of these centuries, under this environment, have produced mighty modifications of native character.

American opponents of annexation have in a few foolish cases painted the Tagal as measuring up with Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Penn or Lincoln, those phenomenal products of the highest civilization on earth. These men have seen a vision in some "iridescent dream." Life in the Philippines will dispel it.

On the other hand, some who have suffered severely will proclaim everything bad in native character; that they would not believe a Filipino upon oath, nor trust him in a trifle.

No race is as bad as its worst member nor as good as its best. The true type of Tagal, as we find him, is a composite of the good and the bad traits of character, either inherent or imitated.

Looking at the subject more in detail, let us consider the Tagal:

1. *Socially*.—Entering a native dwelling, the stranger is always impressed with the hospitable spirit of its inmates. He is made to feel that his presence is an honor. And so universal is this trait of native character, that one always meets it, whether in the more pretentious case of the wealthy Mestizo or the little nipa shelter of the poor. All that the family can afford is ever at the disposition of the guest.

Cigars or cigarettes are in every house, and with a few exceptions, are used by every native, regardless of sex or age, and an abundant supply will at once be forthcoming. Chips of the betel nut, wrapped in buyo leaf and smeared with lime (the native substitute for tobacco chewing), will ordinarily be presented unless it is known to be distasteful to the visitor. "Dulce," a generous name which covers every variety of sweets, preserves or confections, will also be provided beyond the capacity of the guest. Then some form of drink,—cervesa or beer, certain of the wines of Spain or Portugal, or anisada, that vile product of Philippine fermentation, will be placed before him.

It will be a profitable reflection for those who are engaged in a laudable effort to prevent the bestialization of native races by foreign alcoholic importations, to consider that the gratification of Bacchanalian proclivities is very rarely dependent upon the question of importation. Most races have discovered for themselves some method of producing alcoholic stimulation. The Japanese make merry with their saki; the Russians, with their vodka; the Mexicans, with mescal and tiswin; the Cheyennes, with a red berry which they guard most jealously; the Apaches, with their too-dhlee-pah-ee; the Igorrotes, with fermented cane-juice; the Pampangoes, with a fermentation of the nipa palm; and the Tagals, with this vicious fire-juice that bodes as great ill to the American as foreign liquors do to the Tagals. But regardless of the value of the offering, the spirit of generous hospitality is there and it is universal.

The visitor is always impressed with the beautiful, glossy black hair of the natives, which, in the case of the women, is commonly very long, as well as with the regularity of their pearly teeth, the latter, alas, ruined in symmetry and soundness in the case of the inveterate betel-chewer, and taking on, successively, a stain from red to black.

Great care is given to the hair, which is frequently washed with a native weed well worthy of American importation,

and afterwards glossed copiously with cocoanut oil. The latter imparts a rather disagreeably rancid odor to the hair, but is undoubtedly of value, as the natives claim, in checking the ravages of an insect which has a short English name, but among the natives, is as formidable as the technical name of *Pediculus Capitis* would suggest. The sight is so common as to lose all novelty, as natives everywhere reciprocate in attention to each other's hair, and without any sense of shame, in the communistic effort to suppress the ravages of this pest. The picture is so close a reproduction of the action of the monkeys, which likewise abound, as to suggest a Simian ancestry or tutorship for man. I have known Tagal women to manifest profound surprise when told that our American ladies are not all similarly beset, and to laugh most heartily at an intimation that they would be likely to go into mortified seclusion if one poor pest should trouble them.

The beautifully erect carriage of the women, which attracts the attention of the traveler, is largely a contribution to their physical welfare by the character of their labor; the custom of carrying water jugs and other burdens upon the head, necessitating the stiffening of the spine and a throwing back of the shoulders, as well as a proper elevation of the head.

The Tagal woman goes to the opposite extreme from her Chinese sisters, and gives to her naturally small feet full play and development by wearing sandals that do not bind at any point. And, unlike the women of the Occident, she does not bind herself at the waist, nor is she physically injured by the fickle goddess of the fashion-plate, which requires her to change her shape every four or five years to fit the dresses which are built for her. Always erect and unfettered, nature builds her form, and her loose, flowing costume, while there may be variety in texture and adornment, is of unvaried shape and will leave her at the end to go back into the hands of her Maker undeformed.

I doubt if ever more quaintly beautiful costumes or a more attractive scene have been witnessed than at the Mestizo reception given by the first American commission at their home in Malate; the scintillation of countless diamonds adding to the tropical splendor.

These natives are great bathers, and while it would conduce to more universal cleanliness if soap were always used, they stand, as a race, as close to godliness as water alone can place them. They seem almost to be amphibious. The washerwomen stand waist deep in water all day long. The fishermen walk about in the water, sometimes neck deep, as they ply their trade. The fish must have taught the people to swim, so naturally do they glide through the stream. Even the boys and the girls are often expert divers, and consider it an easy way to earn money, to dive for coins that are thrown in the water. I have seen the men descending a ladder from their boats to the bottom of a stream, with buckets for dredging, and emerging only when these were filled with mud. It has been reported of them that they have dived under ships to ascertain whether the keels have been damaged, and that in case of trouble they have gone under the water to repair defective sheets of copper, driving in two or three nails each time before emerging for a breath of air.

The imitativeness of the people is both a tribute to their quickwittedness and also an acknowledgment of the superiority of the races whom they copy. The lavish use of face-powder, which, on occasion, turns perspiration into paste, has often seemed to me a pitiful appeal from the women for deliverance from racial inferiority.

No sooner had American troops appeared, than the Tagal soldiers, by watching them, had learned our drill tactics and were applying them in the instruction of their recruits. The children, everywhere in the streets, were doing the same and many of them were soon able to faultlessly execute our manual of arms.

This imitative ability, which is a very marked character-

istic of the people, is an evidence of a lack of originality and suggests a present inability for the duties of self-government, and at the same time it is a most hopeful factor for the United States in the effort to exemplify the form of liberal government and to tutor the people until they shall be able to practice it.

The gambling propensity of the people is not indicative of a desire to take life very seriously. They are exceedingly fond of games of chance. Lotteries and raffles are popular. I have seen their so-called billiard halls crowded with men day after day, while the women toiled at home to make good the monetary deficiency. Racing is everywhere prevalent, not only on the race-courses but also on the streets. The ordinary native coachman cannot resist the temptation to have a race on the streets, even though his conveyance be a public one. But it is in cock-fighting that the native finds his most engrossing amusement, and the "galleras" or cocking-mains are always scenes of intense excitement and spirited betting. It is the commonest of sights to see the native carrying his favorite rooster with him when he goes to his place of work or for a visit. My own cochero, having invested in a game-cock of apparently good points, deemed me incomprehensibly fastidious because I objected to riding through the streets of Manila to the palace of the governor-general with the bird perched on the dash-board in front of him. He afterward told me that his rooster had killed several combatants and had won \$300.

The old Spanish law permitted marriage between girls of twelve years and boys of fifteen. I know of one case where one of these young husbands became disgusted because his wife persisted in taking her doll to bed with her, and he broke the habit and the doll at the same time. The courtship as a rule takes place in the presence of a chaperon. There is an unwritten law that a young man and woman must not ride in the same vehicle unattended, but the natives were quick to commend the liberal spirit prevailing among

Americans in these matters, as soon as their astonishment had passed away.

Civil marriage, though once decreed, was by some influence rendered inoperative, and the ceremony always took place when, where, and as the priest willed. Each of the parties gave to the other a ring, and coin was also used symbolically in the ceremony to indicate the bride's endowment by her husband.

It is somewhat puzzling to the American who may have legal dealings with the natives, that the married women customarily sign their maiden names. Should the husband die, the woman frequently adds to her own maiden name the words, "widow of —." A man adds his mother's maiden name to that of his father, after his own Christian name. Thus the recently captured dictator wrote on the visiting card which he gave me the name "Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy."

Family ties are very dear to these people and their home life is of such sweet simplicity as to captivate the stranger. At the sounding of the vesper bell and the lighting of the tapers, the children all come to kiss the parents' hands and say good evening. Even as you ride along the streets, if it becomes dark enough to light the side lamps of your vehicle, so soon as they are lighted, even though he has been conversing with you a moment before, your coachman will lift his hat to you and say "good evening, sir."

Just as I was leaving Manila it began to be noised abroad that the Americans, wearied with the vacillation and treachery of many of the surrendered insurrectos, and determined to end the inordinately long rebellion, were about to adopt the deportation policy and send the offenders to Guam. So great was the native consternation at the mere rumor, that it was very easy to foresee what has since become evident, that this threatened rupture of family ties would be most effective in promoting peace.

2. *Industrially.*—Industrially considered, the Tagal often proves a vexing person. That the land is not all cultivated,

the existing industries fully developed and new ones started, and that the natives are not rushing with American energy to get at their tasks, are all facts, but there are ameliorating considerations which must lighten the severity of their condemnation for indolence and shiftlessness.

Their Malay ancestry would not naturally be prophetic of great physical vigor, and the climatic consequences of long-continued life in the tropics inevitably appear in a disposition to take things easy. There is always a tropical tendency to make haste slowly, and to adopt the "manana spirit" of putting off till to-morrow everything which interferes with present comfort. It is very easy, and equally wise, to fall into the siesta-habit and doze away in some protected spot the hours from noon till 2 p. m. When we first entered Manila and until the American energy forced a change, the stores were all closed during these hours and it seemed as if the world had gone to sleep.

There must also be added to a consideration of the depression and enervation of climate the fact that there was no incentive to industry under the old régime. So heavy was the tax upon improvements that the native did not care to make them. The land was made to enrich adventurers who were clothed with brief authority. The history of the tobacco monopoly from 1781 to 1882, more than a century, had we the time to relate it, would show a despicable brutality on the part of Spain and at the same time suggest a reason for the native failure hitherto to make much of the natural resources of the country.

The people have my sympathy in their lack of industrial development, and I am sure that the next decade will witness a marvelous advance because they are permitted to profit from their own labor. The substitution of paternalism for piracy on the part of the government will open the way for the development of industrious habits.

And yet there has been industry already, commensurate with the promised gain. Various fabrics are manufactured,

as well as hats of fine texture and quality. The culture of tobacco and the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes has already reached large proportions. The laborious culture of rice, when it is considered that every little blade in the paddy fields must be transplanted by hand, speaks volumes for the native patience. The fisher-folk, with their immense contributions to the popular diet, are worthy members of their craft. There are mechanics, too,—wheelwrights, blacksmiths, turners, carvers, carpenters, painters, stonemasons, machinists, engineers, shoemakers and others—bread winners, and demanding recognition by the student of industrial capacity and development among this people. And, as elsewhere, woman has her function in the industrial salvation of her race, and, whether we find her as a fisherwoman, or vending the products of sea and land; taking her place in the paddy fields or assisting in the culture of tobacco and its preparation for sale and use; as seamstress, or bending from early morning till late at night over the low frames in which her exquisite embroidery and drawnwork are done; she is doing what she can and will do more when it becomes worth while.

3. *Politically*.—Viewing the Tagal politically we fail to see on what basis men can predicate his capacity for self-government. The idea of independence was unknown in the earlier insurrection, when Aguinaldo sold himself to Spain in the treaty of Biaknabato. That insurrection was caused simply by an overmastering desire to accomplish certain reforms, such as the ejection of the friars and the secularization of education, and yet there was no proposition to lower the Spanish flag.

If the Tagal is capable of self-government, the knowledge must be intuitive, for he has had no tutorage, having been kept always in most subordinate places. He has had no example. There has been before him no type of enduring government. He has seen only a government that was falling by the weight of its own clumsiness, and losing its grip

on every colonial possession in the on-coming palsy of its own corruption. As a result of it, the native has never gotten beyond the idea of *quid pro quo* in government. He expected always to pay the American officials for every act of justice or consideration, as he had paid the Spaniards, and in so far as the insurrectionary Tagal has had control in Luzon, the policy has been one of loot and taxation and oppression worthy of the days of Spain. He lives in the typhoon area, and even aside from the hopelessness of his governing the other tribes, his moral atmosphere is such as to produce revolutions within his own territory,—as may be inferred from Aguinaldo's changes, from general to dictator, from dictator to president, assassinating Luna to cut short his rivalry, and again becoming dictator before his capture. It is never wise to build theories and try them on men, but rather to measure the man and make theories that will fit him.

4. *Religiously*.—Formerly the natives were pagans, but nearly all are, at least nominally, members of the Roman Church.

There is everywhere manifested a fatalistic spirit, and the native, when told that his friend must die, will shrug his shoulders and say "Dios quiere," "God wills," and that ends the discussion.

Many superstitions cling to the people. The more ignorant native trusts implicitly in some form of "n'ting n'ting," or mysterious hieroglyphic which, if worn constantly on his person, will ward off disease and death. The Roman custom of wearing scapulars seems in some way connected in their minds with this primitive belief, and the women particularly, will often deck themselves with a half dozen scapulars, with an evident reliance on numbers.

There must have been a popular belief that Aguinaldo possessed some choice bit of "n'ting n'ting," for I have been told by Tagals, with utmost solemnity, that he was absolutely impervious to bullets; that they would be deflected

by his anatomy as readily as by a stone wall. His headquarters have always been so far to the rear as to render tests impossible.

Great reliance is placed on images and relics. One of my first offices was to secure for a native nun the hand of San Vicente, which had been placed in the custody of the provost marshal general for safe keeping. It has since been within reach of the people, who attribute to it miraculous ministry in behalf of the sick. Pilgrimages, too, frequently take place, the Tagals visiting mainly, although there are others, the Virgin of Antipolo, in search of certain physical and spiritual relief.

It is not surprising that at least a nominal Christianity is prevalent. Ramon Reyes Lala, a native and a Roman Catholic, writes that he has "often seen delinquent parishioners flogged for non-attendance at mass." And the supreme court edict in 1696 imposed a penalty of twenty lashes and two months' labor upon the Chinese-Mestizos and others who failed "to go to church and act according to the established customs of the village." The female delinquent endured a month's public penance.

Many of the Tagals share the belief of the Tinguianes that the soul absents itself from the body during sleep, and that sudden awakening must be avoided, through the fear that the soul might fail to get back in time and so be compelled to wander alone.

Like all partially civilized people, these are fond of display, adornment, and ceremonial, and the Roman Church has been thoughtful in this respect in providing a patron saint for every puebla and in arranging frequent fiestas.

5. *Morally*.—Morally, the Tagal has puzzled many students by his peculiar freaks. Foreman quotes from the testimony of a priest who had spent many years in Batangas province. He says: "A native will serve a master satisfactorily for years and then suddenly abscond, or commit some such hideous crime as conniving with a brigand band to murder the family and pillage the house."

Duplicity, falsehood and theft abound. That the native conscience has not been better educated along these lines, is probably due to the fact that the Spanish colonial government, as they saw it, was constantly exemplifying the same vices.

The Oriental characteristic of extortion is nowhere better illustrated than among the Tagals, who understand the "pound of flesh" theory, that they are to be paid exactly as nominated in the bond, and who are content with such payment, but when the indulgent employer offers even a trifle beyond, will clamor loudly for a great deal more. For any sort of service or commodity it is still the custom to make a racial distinction in prices. A native coachman once told me with smiling suavity that he should charge me one dollar for my short ride; that he would have charged a Spaniard fifty cents, and a native forty cents—every man according to his means; that Americans had plenty of money and could pay more. Under the Spanish law he was entitled to exactly twenty cents.

The modesty of the women is marked, and yet there is no false modesty. Their attitudes are always decorous. Guests must never see them without the customary *panuela* or neck-erchief. And yet they talk innocently of many subjects that would shock the propriety of parlor gatherings in America.

The pride of the women in child-bearing is notable, and a discussion of the matter among acquaintances is not at all inappropriate.

Marital fidelity, at least on the part of the women, is the rule. Prostitution is not unknown, and instead of the civilized system of divorce, they have a substitute, in the system of marriage by contract, under which the parties remain together, month by month, just so long as each is satisfied and the bills are paid. People living in this state are not looked upon with the same degree of disfavor as the ordinary prostitutes.

Cruelty to animals is an unfortunate blot upon native

character. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals has fallen heir to a magnificent mission beyond the Pacific.

6. *Educationally*.—Reference has frequently been made in America to the slight percentage of illiteracy among the Tagals, and while it is true that large numbers of the people can read and write, it is also true that the whole educational system under Spanish auspices was very much of a sham. Very little of the ordinary common school curriculum in America found its way into a Tagal school. With a total outlay of \$238,650 in 1888, for educational work in the whole archipelago, and the payment of about fifteen dollars Mexican, for a teacher's monthly stipend, it would seem that the real work of education had scarcely been attempted. The teaching of doctrine was the main result of the system, although there are three or four schools of excellent grade under the control of the church.

The deficiency in the line of popular education is not due to any defect in the Tagal mind. Brilliant men were formerly in danger of death or deportation.

The desire of the Tagal children for a knowledge of English is one of the most encouraging signs, together with the hope of the parents that they may be tutored to the very limit of their ability; a hope whose fulfilment is being provided for by the very liberal appropriations of the Taft Commission and the able planning of the superintendent, Dr. F. W. Atkinson.

The Tagals want the American public school, and it is destined to prove a mighty factor in their evolution and our peace.

7. *Artistically*.—The native wood-carving in the Jesuit Church in Manila and elsewhere, gives evidence of much ability.

I have often looked at Luna's celebrated painting, "The Blood Compact," which became the property of the Spanish government, and could not wonder that his people regarded

him as a master. Another masterpiece from this Tagal hand was purchased by the city of Barcelona, after having been awarded the second prize at the exhibition in Madrid.

I have always held that no one can be regarded as hopeless who loves music. If this be true, there is everything to hope from the Tagal people, for their love of music is universal and their musical genius extraordinary. Herein is large opportunity for their imitative powers, and they make extensive use of it. A great many of them have learned to play by note, but a multitude of others make marvelous progress in simply playing what they hear. American and European ballads are heard in the majority of native homes. Occasionally one is found with something of the genius of a composer, and if only the training could be added that would help the man to realize his conception, the world would begin to know it. Bands and orchestras everywhere abound. The bass drummer is the leader, and the ability to play by ear enables the musician to do as good work in the dark as in the light.

One of my pleasantest remembrances of ante-insurrectionary days is of a serenade from the Pasig Band of some seventy pieces, as they stood around the house in the dark and played for our pleasure one difficult selection after another, and as faultlessly as the most fastidious could desire.

There is often a shortage in musical taste, as when an orchestra plays "The Star Spangled Banner" at the elevation of the host during mass, or when the band at a funeral strikes up "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town To-night." But it is all-important to have so universal a musical instinct. The matter of taste will receive attention and education from American enthusiasts later on.

8. *Pathologically.*—The ravages of disease among the Tagals often result from lack of care, lack of knowledge and neglect of the simplest principles of sanitary science.

Small-pox has always been a scourge during the hot season, or at the close of winter, but there was formerly no

system of quarantine, and one might as easily meet a case in the street car as anywhere else. The American occupation has resulted in greatly reducing the sick rate from this cause.

Leprosy has been of more frequent occurrence than was necessary. For, while certain leper hospitals were established, there was no very earnest effort at segregation. The Emperor of Japan sent a cargo of lepers to the islands at one time. The American authorities have been arranging for a leper settlement on one of the smaller islands and with careful handling of the subject will doubtless check the spread of the disorder.

Death in child-birth is very common, and infantile diseases, during the first month, prove fatal in about 25 per cent of cases.

Intestinal disorders are particularly to be dreaded because of their virulence and stubbornness.

Anæmia and its results among women is a fruitful source of danger. In so many cases disordered menstruation follows and its neglect saps the very foundation of health.

Pulmonary disorders are of more frequent occurrence than is ordinarily supposed.

Cutaneous diseases are exceedingly common, whether produced by the prevalent fish diet, as is often claimed, or not. I have heard it stated many times that syphilitic disorders are very widespread. But I have seen so many of these alleged syphilitic sores healed by a free use of soap and water, or by some simple antiseptic preparation, as to convince me that in a majority of cases, they are caused by scratching mosquito bites or abrasions of the skin with an unclean finger-nail.

Dobee itch—the name being derived from the Hindu word *dhobi*, signifying a washerman—is probably a common cause of the scratching habit among the natives, and has harassed many Americans of scrupulously cleanly ways. It is truly a washerman's itch, and is transmitted to the foreigner by the hidden germs in his laundered clothing, clean

as it may appear when it returns from the wash. The washer-folk, despite all advice to the contrary, will persist in using cold and often dirty water for all laundry purposes, and will not subject the linen to the boiling process. The result to the wearer of the clothing is often a maddening irritation of the skin, which will spare neither low born nor those of high degree.

Verily, laundry in the Philippines is a lottery, and one never knows whether the remnants of his underwear which are brought to him after they have been clubbed and pounded on the rocks by his native laundryman are bringing him a heritage of cutaneous irritation and muscular activity or not.

When American methods prevail, as one day they will, in Luzon, the itch of the dobees, like the oppression of the Dons, will be but a dream of long ago.

Much remains to be done for the Tagal from a medical point of view, but he has already been blessed with wonderful sanitary improvement since Manila became an American city.

Conclusion.—Without any attempt at exhaustive treatment, for a very great deal remains to be said, I have endeavored to give some hints that may be helpful in forming an estimate of Tagal life and character.

And now a final word as to this newest baby in our political family. We didn't expect him, but we have him. We don't like his complexion or his features, but he may outgrow them. He hasn't been a good baby thus far, and we've lost a lot of sleep on account of him. He's been a costly mortal, but that is not unusual. And, after all, we begin to like him just a little, and look forward to the time when we may take paternal pride in his achievements.

The Semi-Civilized Tribes of the Philippine Islands

By Rev. Oliver C. Miller, A. M., Chaplain U. S. Army

THE SEMI-CIVILIZED TRIBES OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

By REV. OLIVER C. MILLER, A. M.,
Chaplain U. S. Army.

Having spent over a year with the advance guard of our army in the Philippines, I had an opportunity to see much of the natives. From my deep interest in them, I always esteem it a privilege to write anything that will tend to make their condition better understood, and advance them in that development for which I have found them eminently fitted. It must be remembered that one cannot see the best of a people after they have been actively engaged for over four years in trying to throw off the oppressive Spanish yoke, and who were, at the time I was among them, for the lack of a right understanding of the kindly intentions of our government, in a state of rebellion against our own flag.

To see the people of any country one must go beyond the seaport towns, far into the interior. This I had an opportunity of doing; often being with the first American troops that had been seen in the land, from Northern Luzon to the Sulu group.

I want to state at the very beginning of this article, that I have become very fond of the races of the Philippines. And, after traveling both in China and Japan I can truthfully say that I prefer them to any foreigners I have ever visited. What makes them so interesting is that one is relieved of that sameness which is so manifest in other foreign countries. Each tribe, and, indeed, each section of the same tribe, presents something new.

Our brave General Lawton, whose chaplain it was my privilege to be, well understood and loved these people. No man could fight them so hard, and none could excel him in their protection and right treatment when once they were

subdued. He saw with prophetic eye the splendid susceptibilities of the people of the Philippines. And their love for him is still unceasing. The following incident tells of their devotion to him: A few months ago, while the writer was standing at his grave in our beautiful Arlington, a number of visitors gathered around, and while speaking of our fallen hero there was no heart more moved with sorrow than that of a Filipino student who happened to be there.

The races of the Philippines have their failings, but they have been dreadfully misrepresented. No one who has made a study of the human heart and acquired a God-like sympathy and compassion for the frailties of mortals, or who at all understands the Fatherhood of the race in God, or the brotherhood in His Son, can fail to see the uplifting, Divine mission of America in the Philippines. Our greatest danger is with ourselves, lest we fail in those excellencies of character which qualify us to teach and lift up those who have not had the same opportunities. Our greatest need in these days of territorial expansion is *characterial* expansion. The maintenance of our own integrity and uprightness of character must qualify us to be teachers of others. The Spanish government has made mistakes enough along these lines to last for ages.

While speaking of the semi-civilized tribes, we must not fail to mention the thousands of uncivilized people who look up to us for their first lessons. These are scattered over all the islands, and usually dwell upon the mountain tops. Chief among them are the Negritos, supposed to be the aborigines. They are very dark, with curly hair—a puny, stupid race of Negroid dwarfs, and capable of but little development; most likely destined to disappear before the advance of civilization. To this rule, however, the Igorrotes are likely to prove an exception, as they are a splendid race physically. In some localities they are already asking for English schools. These uncivilized tribes vary in different parts of the archipelago, and are usually of a low order; but

rarely ever hostile to strangers, though frequently at war among their own tribes. They are found in great numbers, and are compelled by the semi-civilized tribes to seek the mountain tops for places of abode.

Since the Igorrotes form the link between the uncivilized and the semi-civilized tribes it may be well for us to give a brief description of them. They are scattered about the mountain tops of the northern half of Luzon. They are of a copper color, wear their hair long, have high cheek-bones, broad shoulders and brawny and powerful limbs. The men have strong chests and well-developed muscles of great strength and power of endurance. The women have well-formed figures and rounded limbs. Both sexes wear their hair cut in a fringe over their foreheads, reaching down to the eyebrows and covering the ears, and left long enough in the back to be gathered up into a knot. Their dress varies from a mere apron to a handsome jacket of blue, crimson or white stripes. While the word Igorrote has come to be synonymous with heathen highlander, it must not be forgotten that this tribe in many places manifests some degree of civilization. Tattooing is very common among them, and in central Benguit, where they worship the sun, one can hardly find a man or woman who has not a figure of the sun tattooed in blue on the back of the hand. They manufacture quite a number of crude-looking articles, such as short, double-edged swords, javelins and axes.

They are great smokers, and drink a beer made of fermented cane-juice, but have not adopted the Malayan custom of chewing buyo. There is a settlement of Christian Igorrotes on the coast of Ilocos Sur. This, however, is the one exception to their constant determination to resist any effort on the part of the Catholic Church to convert them to Christianity. They express no desire to go to the same heaven as the Spaniard, since the officers and men composing the expedition sent against them in 1881 so abominably abused their women.

The richest man among them is usually made chief, and the wealthier families vie with one another in a display of wealth at their great feasts; the common people among them not being invited, but only allowed to assemble at beat of drum. Their houses are built upon posts above the ground, or supported by four trunks of trees, and thatched with canes or bamboo and roofed with elephant grass. They are much inferior to the houses of the domesticated natives, having no chimneys or windows; only a small door, the ladder to which is drawn up at night for protection against their enemies. Though superior in some respects to the Tagals, they are much inferior to them in regard to cleanliness. They neglect to wash their clothing or clean their houses. Each village has a town-hall, where the council assembles to attend to the litigation for the community, such as administering punishment to the guilty and hearing requests for divorces. At this place also the public festivals take place, and are very unique and interesting. Their language consists of several dialects, and some of their head men coming in contact with the Ilocanos have learned to speak and write their language for the purpose of trading. Some twenty years ago they conducted seven schools in Lepanto, which were attended by six hundred children, of whom one-sixth could read and write. Writers who know them best give them credit for great industry and skill in everything they undertake. They possess many manufactured articles, embracing uniforms, weapons of war, sword belts, medicine pouches, accoutrements for their horses, beautiful woven garments for the chief women, ornamented waterpots, great varieties of hats, and waterproof capes made of the leaves of the anajas. They abound in ornaments, such as necklaces made of reeds, the vertebræ of snakes, colored seeds, coronets of rattan and of sweet-scented wood. The "chachang" is a plate of gold, used by their chiefs to cover their teeth at feasts or when they present themselves to distinguished visitors. They excel

in the manufacture of household articles and musical instruments.

The Tinguianes dwell in the district of Elabra, Luzon ; and were under the Spanish control. In their advance toward civilization they surpass the Igorrotes, and are entitled to be classed among the semi-civilized tribes. They prefer to make their own laws and usually abide by them. The head man of the village is the judge, and upon assuming his office he takes the following oath: " May the destructive whirlwind kill me, may the lightning strike me, and may the alligator devour me when I am asleep if I fail to do my duty." As a race they are very intelligent and well formed, many of them being really handsome. They are supposed to have descended from the Japanese, shipwrecked upon the Philippine coasts; like the Japanese, they wear a tuft of hair on the crown of their heads, tattoo their bodies, and blacken their teeth. They are very fond of music, and are pagans without temples, it being their custom to hide their gods in the mountain caves. They believe in the efficacy of prayer to supply material needs,—are monogamists, and their children are generally forced to marry before the age of puberty. The bridegroom or his father must purchase the bride. They live in cabins on posts or in trees, sometimes sixty feet from the ground. When attacked they throw down stones upon their enemies, and by this method of protection they can dwell quite securely. Like all head hunters, they adorn their dwellings with the skulls of their victims, carry a lance as a common weapon, and are without bows and arrows. They appear to be as intelligent as the ordinary subdued natives; and are by no means savages, nor entirely strangers to domestic life. Thus far their conversion to Christianity has proven impossible.

In the Morong District of Luzon there is a race of people who are supposed to be descendants of the Hindoos who deserted from the British army during their occupation of Manila, and migrated up the Pasig River. Their notable

features are black skin, aquiline nose, bright expression and regular features. They are Christians, law-abiding, and more industrious than the Philippine natives. They were the only class who paid their taxes, and yet, on the ground that generations ago they were intruders on the soil, they were more heavily laden with imposts than their neighbors. In addition to these a few Albinos are to be seen on the islands.

The Pampangos are a most interesting tribe, dwelling mainly in the provinces of Pampanga and Tarlac. In 1876 they numbered 294,000. Their language differs from that of the Tagal, and many of the better class speak both languages. This tribe is much like the Tagal in character, and the difference comes largely from environment and occupation. The Pampango excels in agriculture, is a good organizer of labor, rides well, is a good hunter, and makes a bold and determined sailor. The Spanish used them to great advantage as soldiers in fighting against the Moros, British and Dutch. They have many fine houses, and are a good class of natives. The traveler will never fail to find them hospitable. Their principal industry is the cultivation of sugar, and from it they make considerable money, notwithstanding the great disadvantages experienced on account of the unfavorable conditions imposed upon them by the government of Spain. When peace is once restored, hardly any people in the archipelago will be found to excel them in thrift, with the favoring opportunities given under American occupation. They are classed among domesticated natives, are converts of the established church, and manifest a considerable degree of civilization. These people and the surrounding half-savage tribes are, perhaps, the largest dealers in the most important product, nipa palm, used so extensively in house-building as a thatching, both for sides and roof. The juice of the plant is also fermented and distilled, and produces abundant alcohol in the strongest form.

The Pampangos may well be accounted the best horsemen among the natives. Some of them hunt the deer on ponies,

and chase at full speed up or down the mountains, no matter how rough, and often get near enough to throw or even use the lance in hand. Their saddles are of a miniature Mexican pattern, and their ponies, about twelve or thirteen hands high, are strong and enduring, as was shown by their carrying the heavily accoutred American cavalrymen, over what might be termed impassable roads, with almost as much ease as the large American horses.

The women of this tribe deserve a word of special mention. So great is their faculty for business that the men rarely venture upon a bargain without their help. They are fine seamstresses, very good at embroidery, and excel in weaving silk handkerchiefs with beautiful borders of blue, red and purple. They produce the celebrated Manila hat in its best form and texture, together with many other useful and beautiful articles of this kind. Their houses are kept clean, and are quite spacious; the floors being made of close-grained hard wood, which makes them very desirable for dancing after having been polished.

The Pangasinanes, dwelling in the province of Zambales, Luzon, number about 300,000. They are not as hard working as the Ilocanos, and were subjugated by Spain and brought into the established church. They are a hardier race than the Tagals. Their chief occupation is the cultivation of rice, which is the lowest class of agriculture and practiced by the poorest people. A little sugar is produced by them, but it is of poor quality. At one time they exported indigo and sapan wood. Their chief industry is the manufacture of hats, hundreds of thousands of which have been sent from Calasias to this country; they are made from "nito," or grass. The mountain streams are washed for gold by the women; but only a meagre supply is found. A writer who has studied them rather closely says: "Their civilization is only skin deep, and one of their decided characteristics is a propensity to abandon their villages and take to the mountains, out of reach of authority."

During all the time I was with the advance guard of our armies in Luzon, under Generals McArthur, Young and Lawton, I found no people I liked as well as the Ilocanos. The following incident will show how teachable and trustworthy they are: While with the Fourth Cavalry guarding the town of Carriglan, a mountain pass separated by many miles from any other command of our army, two hundred bolo men came in to recapture the town; but they were soon taken by our men, disarmed and quartered in the village church. By means of interpreters I began to talk with them, told them of our kind intentions, and encouraged them to hold religious services according to their form. This they did regularly and devoutly. Before two days had passed they were our allies. And when fifty per cent of our men were taken ill with the dengue fever they proved very valuable and willing helpers.

The Ilocanos are a hard-working race dwelling in north-western Luzon, extending over the province of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur and La Union, and branching into the surrounding country. They are classed among the domesticated natives, and have for three centuries been under the control of the Catholic Church, to which they are very devoted. They are less inclined to insurrection, and it can safely be said that they have given the authorities of our country the least trouble. They are very tractable, and will doubtless excel most of the tribes of the archipelago when brought under the just administration to be given by the American people. The Ilocanos also make nets for fish and for deer and pigs; baskets of all sorts, and *salacots* or hats.

They grow two kinds of cotton for textiles—the white and the coyote. Another kind, a tree cotton, from the boboy, is only used for stuffing pillows. They extract oil from the seeds of all three kinds. Like the other natives, they live principally on rice and fish, which they capture in large quantities. They have fine cattle, which they sell to the Igorrotes. It will be noted that the Tinguianes, on the

other hand, sell cattle to the Ilocanos. The ponies of Ilocos are highly valued in Manila, where there is a great demand for them. They are smaller than the ponies of other provinces, but are very hardy and spirited and travel at a great pace. Tulisanes formerly infested these provinces and found a ready refuge in the mountains when pursued by the cuadrilleros, or village constables, who were only armed with bolos, lances and a few old muskets. But the creation of the civil guard, formed of picked officers and men, who were armed with Remingtons and revolvers, and whose orders were, "Do not hesitate to shoot," made this business very dangerous, and the three provinces now suffer little from brigandage.

Even in this hasty review the Cagayanes are worthy of mention. They inhabit the Babuyan and Batana Islands, and the northern coast of Luzon from Point Lacaytacay to Punta Escarpada and all the country between the Rio Grande and the summits of the Sierra Madre as far south as Balasig. They are spoken of as the finest race in the islands, and as having furnished the strongest resistance to the Spaniards. They were, however, early conquered and converted to Christianity.

Of all the tribes the Macabebes are best known to the Americans, on account of their eagerness at the first opportunity to fight under the Stars and Stripes. Their territory lies directly north of Manila Bay in the Province of Pampanga. An old feud existing between them and the Tagals has to this day kept the tribes in bitter enmity. This has doubtless in a great measure influenced them in taking up arms with the Americans against the Tagals. They did excellent service as scouts in the advance made by General Lawton, under the leadership of Major Batson, proving themselves fearless and efficient. Many of them having been in the Spanish army were already drilled. They have proved themselves loyal and trustworthy, and now constitute a most efficient command known as the Philippine Cavalry.

They are somewhat difficult to control when once they have their enemy within their power, having a propensity to loot and to inflict cruelties not justifiable according to the rules of war. They are very enduring and, going barefoot, can excel the American in mountain climbing and fording rivers. Physically they are a well-formed race and present a fine appearance as soldiers. They are so dreaded by the insurgent soldiers that the notification of their approach is apt to result in a panic on the part of their enemies. They are an agricultural people and have no marked distinguishing characteristics, being in many ways like neighboring tribes. The tribe could not furnish more than 2,500 able-bodied soldiers. The women are very loyal to our government and esteem it a privilege to give their sons and husbands to our army. The Macabebe priests also have shown loyalty to the Americans. We should not forget what it means for this people to take a stand for us, surrounded as they are with those at enmity with us.

We speak of the domesticated natives in contradistinction to the wild tribes of the mountains and the people springing from intermarriage with them. The origin of the former is uncertain. The generally accepted theory is that they first migrated from Madagascar to the Malay Peninsula. Some trace their origin as far as Patagonia; others say they descended from the aborigines of Chile and Peru. This idea is rendered plausible by the fact that people have been carried westward by east winds and currents, while there is no record of their having been carried in a contrary direction toward the archipelago. The most universally accepted theory is that they came from Malesia to these islands, and in course of time supplanted the aborigines in control of the coasts and lowlands. These people number about five millions. They proved a most tractable race in the hands of their oppressors.

A proper estimate of these people cannot be formed by seeing them in the seaport towns, where they have been

changed by coming in contact with other nations. They can only be successfully studied by abiding with them in the interior. For instance, much of the native population of Manila has descended from prisoners released by the Spaniards on the promise that they would serve them without remuneration. The natives of the interior are a most interesting study for the ethnologist, ever varying in moods and localities. In judging of their character it is only just to remember that with any people violent oppression brings out lawless resistance. We cannot tell how far this trait has been developed by the Spaniard, or by the direct rays of the tropical sun, which frequently causes the native to excuse himself for infidelity or cruelty by saying, "My head was hot." Many who have dealt with the natives in the interior have found that confidence begets confidence, and that to confide in them and show them by kind and just dealings that they can trust you, is to develop trustworthiness in them. Surely the teaching of the Spanish was especially calculated to develop traits of suspicion and treachery, and even to make such impression pre-natal.

Whether it be a peculiarity of the race, or the result of education, it is quite true of the Filipino that if you "give him an inch he will take an ell," but when treated with justice, tempered with kindness, he becomes an apt pupil in learning the better way. In every transaction with the Filipino one must constantly keep in mind the disadvantageous surroundings under which he has become as good as he is. He surely started with a considerable amount of integrity to have any left at all, after more than three centuries of cinch and grind from a nation whose object seems to have been to get all out of their colony and give back little or nothing. The native is not apt to return anything he has borrowed unless demanded. He regards a debt more as an inconvenience than as an obligation, and will often, when loaded down with debts, make a great show of riches to impress his neighbors. They are fairly honest, and as a general thing steal

only when pressed by need. Their courtesy approaches that of the Japanese. Often when paying a visit to a friend they spend as much as three minutes in complimentary dialogue before entering. It is considered a gross violation of the rules of etiquette to step over a person while asleep on the floor. They are much opposed to awaking any one from sleep, actuated by the idea that during sleep the soul is absent from the body, and if one be suddenly awakened it might not have time to return. For this reason a native, when told to awaken you at a certain hour, is loath to do it, and goes about it with much caution. Often when calling upon a person the servant tells you he is asleep, that is considered sufficient reason either for you to wait or call later on. The foreigner soon finds that it is best for him, on account of climate, to fall into the habit of the native in enjoying a siesta from twelve to two o'clock daily.

The clashing between Europeans and the natives is often caused by the difference in mental cast and impulse, and if one constantly makes allowance for this he will soon find that he can get along very well with them. One finds in the native a lack of sympathy. The Tagalog, however, is more sympathetic than the Visayan, who usually exhibits a frigid indifference to the misfortunes and sorrows of others, bearing his own with great composure. Mr. Foreman states that wherever he has been he has found the mothers teaching their children to regard the Europeans as demoniacal beings, or at least as dreaded enemies. If a child cries it is hushed by the exclamation "Castilia" (European). This dread for the approach of the European was intensified in the case of Americans by the accounts given the natives by the Spanish. The native in the interior, when approached by the American soldier, fell upon his knees and begged for mercy, expecting to be at once put to death, and could hardly be induced to arise. When ill, they could not be persuaded to take medicine from the hands of the American soldier until convinced that the surgeon did not mean to poison

them, by his taking in their presence the same kind of medicine he offered them. When our soldiers would approach a native mother with her children she would gather them around her, and the whole group fall down trembling and close their eyes that they might meet their death without seeing the supposed murderers. It will take time to clear away these misunderstandings, but when once they give way to the truth, and the native sees for himself and believes in the kindness and justice that exist for him in the American heart, it will be a great step toward a peaceful relationship between the two nations.

Like most Orientals, the Filipino is more imitative than original, and readily changes from one occupation to another. His cruelty to animals is manifest in all his dealings with them, and he is generally unfeeling to a fallen foe. The mutilation of a vanquished enemy is a common occurrence. He is credulous and easily imposed upon, transmits a report with amazing rapidity, and often fails to keep a secret; not inclined to joke, he is quite festive in his nature. If angered he does not show it, but calmly awaits his time for revenge. If convinced by his own conscience of his wrongdoing he will receive punishment without the least resentment, but if not convinced of his guilt he cherishes his wrath and awaits opportunity for resentment. They, as a general thing, do not regard lying as a sin, but rather as a legitimate and cunning device which should be resorted to whenever it will serve the purpose. This same trait is found among the Spanish in the Philippines. Whether the native receives it by instruction or inheritance is a question. The priests say that the natives carry their disregard for the truth even into the confessional. Both sexes are very fond of litigation.

Of the more advanced races, the Tagalog has made greater progress in civilization than the Visayan of the south. This is due most likely to the fact that they have been brought more into contact with the European. They also exceed the Visayans in disinterested hospitality, and

are more cheerful and pliant where they have not been brought under the influence of the bitter spirit of rebellion. The tribes of Northern Luzon are perhaps the most tractable. The natives of the southern islands are more resentful, conceited, unpolished, and manifest a sullen defiance, which is not found so much in their northern neighbors. They, however, are more self-reliant and manifest quite as much or more strength of character than the Tagalogs, and are not so emotional and easily influenced. When once you win their confidence they are likely to be more stable in their friendship. The Visayans exceed the Tagalogs in avariciousness and fondness for display, especially in the line of jewelry. The women, as a rule, are very reserved, especially in the south, but throughout the archipelago they maintain a high standard of morals. Infidelity on the part of the wife is rarely found.

The Visayans are the people inhabiting the six islands lying between Luzon and Mindanao, known as the Panay, Negros, Cubu, Bohol, Leyte and Samar, and quite a number of smaller islands. They differ in many respects from their northern and southern neighbors, and have made less progress in civilization than the Tagals. The cold hospitality of the Visayan, often tempered with avarice, forms a sharp contrast with his more open-hearted Tagal brother. The Visayan women care far less to become acquainted with a stranger, especially if he be a European. When such a one calls at their home they will saunter off and hide; however, if the caller be well known, they are quite genial. If met by chance they are not likely to return a salutation, and they seldom indulge in a smile before strangers, or have conversation with them. They have had no advantages in instruction beyond that of music and the lives of the saints. They impress the traveler with an insipidity of character which does not at all correspond with the air of superiority and disdain they exhibit.

It must, however, be observed that these characteristics

apply to the Visayans in the interior more than to those in the coast towns, where they have been brought in contact with foreigners and are decidedly more genial. But it must be acknowledged that the Visayan is more tenacious of the customs of his forefathers and slower in taking up with new ideas and customs than the Tagalog. This is not altogether a racial peculiarity but a result of not being geographically situated so as to be brought in contact with the outside world, as are their northern neighbors. This conservative trait of Visayan character finds an illustration in the following narrative: A wealthy European merchant had married a beautiful Visayan wife and taken her to a home elegantly furnished according to European standards. But the Visayan beauty found such surroundings uncongenial, and it was with difficulty that she could be induced to put in an appearance when European visitors were to be entertained. She would often decline to sit with them at the table, preferring to sit on the kitchen floor and eat, after the custom of her people. The Tagal women are very apt imitators of European customs, and often make ludicrous efforts in this direction. The same contrast is presented by the men of the two races.

The importance of the Visayan people is destined to increase, not only on account of the great resources and fertility of the islands they inhabit, but on account of their emigration to Mindanao, where any amount of rich land awaits the coming of the husbandman. These people are sure to be a great factor in the development of resources and the improvement of opportunities to be found nowhere else in the world. Owing to the unprogressive spirit of the Spanish no census of these people has been taken since 1877, at which time they were found to number over two millions, the population of Panay being the largest. The Visayan Islands contain fewer heathen than any other part of the Philippines. The above estimate of the population of the Visayan Islands does not include the Negritos, Munaos

and Carolanos, wild tribes whose numbers are increased by a number of fugitives from justice and others who are inclined to a savage life and given to the love of plunder. The Province of Iloilo is said to contain half a million people of the domesticated native type. The mountains of the Visayan Islands, not being as numerous or high, do not furnish the same refuge for the wild tribes as those of Northern Luzon, therefore these tribes are fewer in number.

The most numerous and, after the Tagals, the most important race in the Philippines is that branch of the Visayan, formerly called Pintados or painted men, from the blue painting or tattooing which was prevalent at the time of the conquest. They form the mass of the inhabitants of the islands called Visayas, and of some others.

Another branch of the Visayans, distinguished by a darker color and by a curliness of the hair, suggesting some Negrito mixture, occupies the Calamianes and Cuyos Islands and the northern coasts of Paragua or Palawan as far as Bahia Honda.

In appearance the Visayans differ somewhat from the Tagals, having a greater resemblance to the Malays of Borneo and Malacca. The men wear their hair longer than the Tagals, and the women wear a patadion instead of a saya and tapis. The patadion is a piece of cloth a yard wide and over two yards long, the ends of which are sewed together. The wearer steps into it and wraps it around the figure from the waist downward, doubling it over in front into a wide fold and tucking it in securely at the waist. The saya is a skirt tied at the waist with a tape, and the tapis is a breadth of dark cloth, silk or satin, doubled round the waist over the saya.

In disposition they are less sociable than the Tagals, and less clean in their person and clothing. They have a language of their own, and there are several dialects of it. The basis of their food is rice, with which they often mix maize. They flavor their food with red pepper to a greater

extent than the Tagals. They are expert fishermen, and consume large quantities of fish. In smoking and chewing betel they resemble the other races of the islands. They are great gamblers, and take delight in cock-fighting. They are fond of hunting, and kill numbers of wild pig and deer. They cut the flesh of the latter into strips and dry it in the sun, after which it will keep a long time. It is useful to take as provision on a journey, but it requires good teeth to get through it.

The Visayans build a number of canoes, paros, barotos, and vintas. They are very confident on the water, putting to sea in their ill-found and badly-equipped craft with great assurance, and do not come to grief as often as might be expected. Their houses are constructed similarly to those of the other inhabitants of the littoral.

Early writers accuse the Visayan women of great sensuality and unbounded immorality, and give details of some very curious customs which are unsuitable for general publication. However, the customs to which I refer have long become obsolete among the Visayans, although still existing among some of the wilder tribes in Borneo. The Visayan women are very prolific, many having borne a dozen children, but infant mortality is high, and they rear but a small portion of them. The men are less sober than the Tagals; they manufacture and consume large quantities of strong drink. They are not fond of the Tagals, and a Visayan regiment would not hesitate to fire upon them if ordered. In fact, the two tribes look upon each other as foreigners. When discovered by the Spaniards they were to a great extent civilized and organized in a feudal system. Tomas de Comyn formed a very favorable opinion of them. He writes: "Both men and women are well mannered and of a good disposition, of better condition and nobler behavior than those of the island of Luzon and others adjacent."

They had learned much from Arab and Bornean adventurers, especially from the former, whose superior physique,

learning and sanctity, as coming from the country of the prophet, made them acceptable suitors for the hands of the daughters of the rajahs or petty kings. They brought with them the doctrines of Islam, which had begun to make some converts before the Spanish discovery. The old Visayan religion was not unlike that of the Tagals. They called their idols *Dinatas* instead of *Anitos*. Their marriage customs were not very different from those of the Tagals.

The ancestors of the Visayans were converted to Christianity at or soon after the Spanish conquest. They have thus been Christians for over three centuries, and in constant war with the Mohammedan pirates of Mindanao and Sulu, and with the Sea Dayaks of Borneo. However, in some localities they still show a strong fondness for witchcraft, and practice secret heathen rites, notwithstanding the vigilance of the parish priests.

The Moros now extend over the whole of Mindanao and the Sultanate of Sulu, which comprises the Sulu Island (thirty-four miles long from east to west and twelve miles in the broadest part from north to south) and about one hundred and forty others, more than half of which are inhabited. The population (according to Mr. Foreman) of the Sulu Sultanate alone is about 110,000, including free people, slaves, and some 20,000 men at arms under orders of the Dattos. The domains of the Sultan reach westward as far as Borneo. The Sultan of Sulu is also feudal lord of two vassal Sultanates in Mindanao Island. Only a small coast district of this island was really under Spanish empire, although Spain claimed suzerainty over all the territory subject to the Sultan of Sulu, by virtue of an old treaty, which was never entirely carried out. There is also a half-caste branch of Moros in the southern half of Palauan Island (Paragua) of a very peaceful nature, nominally under the rule of the Sultan of Sulu. The United States forces have not yet been sent to these islands. They were gratuitously ceded to Spain by the Sultan about 1730 at the request

of the Spaniards. The only Spanish possession at the time of the evacuation was the colony of Puerta Princesa on the east coast, which is a good harbor and affords a fine outlet for the products of the fertile land surrounding it.

The Moros also inhabit the Tawi Tawi Islands, the most southerly of the Sulu group, lying only five degrees north of the equator. The Spanish assaulted these islands in 1751 under a decree ordering them "to exterminate all the Mussulmans with fire and sword, to extinguish the foe, burn all that was combustible, destroy the crops, desolate their cultivated lands, make captives and recover Christian slaves." The captain and his men went ashore, but their retreat was cut off and they were all slain. The officer in command of the expedition was so discouraged that he resigned. The entire assault proved a great failure, and shows that the inhabitants of these islands possess the same warlike traits as the Moros of the other islands. The Moros were for centuries among the sea pirates of history, the most unconquerable. They defied the Spanish sailing men-of-war with their light "prahus" and "vintas" by keeping in the shallow water, where they could not be approached, and awaiting opportunity to cluster around a solitary man-of-war and take her by boarding. It was the introduction of steam gunboats in 1860 that broke the power of the Moro pirate fleets. Their towns, like the city of Brunei, are mostly built in the water, and have bamboo bridges, which can be removed, to connect them with the shore. Their "cottas," or forts, are built on rising ground near by and protected by reefs that make the approach by water difficult. The stockades are made of trunks of trees; some of their walls being twenty-four feet thick and thirty feet high, are defended by brass and iron guns. An attempt to storm these cottas is met by the Moros, who mount the ram-parts and make a brave defence, firing grape from their cannon until the enemy comes near enough, when they hurl their spears upon them from a surprising distance and with

accurate aim, manfully fighting till they drive off their assailants or die in the attempt. When once they have put their enemies to flight they fall upon them in a dreadful hand-to-hand conflict in which quarter is neither asked nor given.

If the history of the Spanish-Moro wars were written it would be of great interest and would show many a Homeric combat. It must be said of the Spanish soldiers that they meet their dreadful foes with equal courage. Sometimes the priests with crucifix in hand would bravely lead their half-savage converts against their oppressors amid showers of spears and bullets. The head of a priest was considered a great prize by the Moro warriors. The soil of Mindanao has been literally drenched in the blood of Moro, Spanish and native in this long-drawn-out and awful conflict between the Cross and the Crescent. The malaria of the Moro land seems to fight for its inhabitants by exempting them from its attacks and setting furiously upon all others who invade the mangrove swamps and flooded jungle. In all justice it must be said that not superior valor, but the invention of modern weapons of warfare, checked the ravages of the Moro, and that the Spanish opened the way and made possible peaceful American occupation. It is strange but true that to-day a man may carry the American flag with greater safety through the land of the Moros than through any other part of the Philippine Archipelago. Mr. Sawyer in his new book gives the following interesting statements: "It is a striking instance of the irony of fate that, just as modern weapons have turned the scale in favor of the Spaniards in this long struggle and brought the Moros within measurable distance of subjection, when only one more blow required to be struck, Spain's oriental empire should suddenly vanish in the smoke of Dewey's guns and her flag disappear forever from battlements where (except for the short interval of British occupation, 1762-63) it has proudly waved through storm and sunshine for three hundred and twenty-eight

years. Such, however, is the case; and it now falls to the United States to complete the task of centuries, to stretch out a protecting hand over the Christian natives of Mindanao, and to suppress the last remains of a slave-raiding system as ruthless, as sanguinary, and as devastating as the annals of the world can show."

II. The Causes of Race Superiority

ANNUAL ADDRESS

By Dr. Edward A. Ross, Professor of Sociology in the
University of Nebraska



THE CAUSES OF RACE SUPERIORITY.

Annual address by DR. EDWARD A. ROSS,
Professor of Sociology in the University of Nebraska.

The superiorities that, at a given time, one people may display over other peoples, are not necessarily racial. Physical inferiorities that disappear as the peoples are equalized in diet and dwelling; mental inferiorities that disappear when the peoples are levelled up in respect to culture and means of education, are due not to race but to condition, not to blood but to surroundings. In accounting for disparities among peoples there are, in fact, two opposite errors into which we may fall. There is the equality fallacy inherited from the earlier thought of the last century, which belittles race differences and has a robust faith in the power of intercourse and school instruction to lift up a backward folk to the level of the best. Then there is the counter fallacy, grown up since Darwin, which exaggerates the race factor and regards the actual differences of peoples as hereditary and fixed.

Just now the latter error is, perhaps, the more besetting. At a time when race is the watchword of the vulgar and when sciolists are pinning their faith to breed, we of all men ought to beware of it. We Americans who have so often seen the children of underfed, stunted, scrub immigrants match the native American in brain and brawn, in wit and grit, ought to realize how much the superior effectiveness of the latter is due to social conditions. Keleti, from his investigations in Hungary, has come to the conclusion that in most of the communes there the people have less to eat than is necessary to live and work, the result being alcoholism, weakness, disease and early death. Atwater, on the other hand, has found that the average wage-worker in New England consumes more food than health requires.

What a host of consequences issue from this one primary contrast !

A generation ago, in the first enthusiasm over the marvels of heredity, we were taught that one race is monotheistic, another has an affinity for polytheism. One race is temperamentally aristocratic, while another is by instinct democratic. One race is innovating and radical, another is by nature conservative. But it is impossible to characterize races in respect to such large complex traits. A keener analysis connects these great historical contrasts with a number of slight specific differences in body or temperament. For example, four diverse traits of the greatest social importance, namely, progressiveness, the spirit of adventure, migrancy and the disposition to flock to cities, can be traced to a courageous confidence in the unknown coupled with the high physical tone that calls for action. Similarly, if we may believe Signor Ferrero, of two equally gifted races the one that is the less sensual will be inferior in æsthetic output, less apt to cross with lower types, more loyal to the idea of duty, better adapted to monotonous factory labor, and more inclined to the Protestant form of religion. It is only by establishing fixed, specific differences of this kind that we can hope to explain those grand race contrasts that enchant the historian.

The first cause of race superiority to which I invite your attention is a physiological trait, namely, *climatic adaptability*. Just now it is a grave question whether the flourishing and teeming peoples of the North Temperate zone can provide outlets for their surplus population in the rich but undeveloped lands of the tropics. Their superiority, economic and military, over the peoples under the vertical sun is beyond cavil. But can they assert and profit by this superiority save by imposing on the natives of the tropics the odious and demoralizing servile relation? Can the white man work and multiply in the tropics, or will his rôle be limited to commercial and industrial exploitation at a safe

distance by means of a changing, male contingent of soldiers, officials, business agents, planters and overseers?

The answer is not yet sure, but the facts bearing on acclimatization are not comforting to our race. Immunity from the fevers that waste men in hot, humid climates seems to be in inverse ratio to energy. The French are more successful in tropical settlement than the Germans or the English. The Spanish, Portuguese and Italians surpass the French in almost equal measure. When it comes to *settling* Africa, instead of merely exploring or subduing it, the peoples may unexpectedly change their rôles. With all their energy and their numbers the Anglo-Saxons appear to be physiologically inelastic, and incapable of making of Guiana or the Philippines a home such as they have made in New Zealand or Minnesota. In the tropics their very virtues—their push, their uncompromising standards, their aversion to intermarriage with the natives—are their destruction.

Ominous, on the other hand, is the extraordinary power of accommodation enjoyed by the Mongolians. Says Professor Ripley: "The Chinese succeed in Guiana where the white man cannot live; and they thrive from Siberia where the mean temperature is below freezing, to Singapore on the equator." There are even some who believe that the Chinaman is destined to dispossess the Malay in south-western Asia and the islands of the Pacific, and the Indian in the tropical parts of South America.

There is, indeed, such a thing as acclimatization; but this is virtually the creation at a frightful cost of a new race variety by climatic selection. We may therefore regard his lack of adaptability as a handicap which the white man must ever bear in competing with black, yellow, or brown men. His sciences and his inventions give him only a temporary advantage, for, as the facilities for diffusion increase, they must pass to all. Even his educational and political institutions will spread wherever they are suitable. All precedence founded on the possession of magazine rifles, or

steam, or the press, or the Christian religion, must end as these elements merge into one all-embracing, everywhere diffused, cosmopolitan culture. Even the advantage conferred upon a race by closer political cohesion, or earlier development of the state, cannot last. Could we run the coming centuries through a kinetoscope, we should see all these things as mere *clothes*. For, in the last analysis, it is solely on its persistent physiological and psychological qualities that the ultimate destinies of a race depend.

The next truth to which I invite your attention is, that one race may surpass another in *energy*. The average of individual energy is not a fixed race attribute, for new varieties are constantly being created by migration. The voluntary, unassisted migration of individuals to lands of opportunity tends always to the upbuilding of highly energetic communities and peoples. To the wilderness go, not the brainiest or noblest or highest bred, but certainly the strongest and the most enterprising. The weakling and the sluggard stay at home, or, if they are launched into the new conditions, they soon go under. The Boers are reputed to be of finer physique than their Dutch congeners. In America, before the days of exaggerated immigration, the immigrants were physically taller than the people from which they sprang, the difference amounting in some instances to an average of more than an inch. By measurements taken during the Civil War the Scotch in America were found to exceed their countrymen by two inches. Moreover, the recruits hailing from other states than those in which they had been born were generally taller than those who had not changed their residence. The Kentuckians and the Texans have become proverbial for stature, while the surprising tallness of the ladies who will be found shopping, of an afternoon, on Kearney street in San Francisco, testifies to the bigness of the "forty-niners." Comparative weights tell the same tale. Of the recruits in our Civil War, the New Englanders weighed 140 pounds, the Middle State men 141

pounds, the Ohians and Indianans 145 pounds, and the Kentuckians 150. Conversely, where, as in Sardinia, the population is the leavings of continued emigration, the stature is extraordinarily low.

This principle that repeated migrations tend to the creation of energetic races of men, opens up enchanting vistas of explanation in the jungle of history. Successive waves of conquest breaking over a land like Sicily or India may signify that a race, once keyed up to a high pitch of energy by gradual migration from its ancient seats, tends to run down as soon as such beneficent selections are interrupted by success, and settlement in a new home. Cankered by a long quiet it falls a prey in a few centuries to some other people that has likewise been keyed up by migration.

Again, this principle may account for the fact that those branches of a race achieve the most brilliant success which have wandered the farthest from their ancestral home. Of the Mongols that borrowed the old Babylonian culture, those who pushed across Asia to the Yellow Sea, have risen the highest. The Arabs and Moors that skirted Africa and won a home in far-away Spain, developed the most brilliant of the Saracenic civilizations. Hebrews, Dorians, Quirites, Rajputs, Hovas were far invaders. No communities in classic times flourished like the cities in Asia created by the overflow from Greece. Nowhere under the Czar are there such vigorous, progressive communities as in Siberia. By the middle of this century, perhaps, the Russian on the Yenesei or the Amur will be known for his "push" and "hustle" as is to-day the American on Lake Michigan or Puget Sound. It is perhaps on this principle that the men who made their way to the British Isles have shown themselves the most masterful and achieving of the Germanic race; while their offshoots in America and Australia, in spite of some mixture, show the highest level of individual efficiency found in any people of the Anglo-Saxon breed. Even in America there is a difference between the

East and the West. The listlessness and social decay noticeable in many of the rural communities and old historic towns on the Atlantic slope, are due, no doubt, to the loss of their more energetic members to the rising cities and to the West.

There is no doubt that the form of society which a race adopts is potent to paralyze or to release its energy. In this respect Americans are especially fortunate, for their energies are stimulated to the utmost by democracy. I refer not to popular government, but to the fact that with us social status depends little on birth and much on personal success. I will not deny that money, not merit, is frequently the test of social standing, and that Titania is often found kissing "the fair long ears" of some Bottom; but the commercial spirit, even if it cannot lend society nobility or worth, certainly encourages men to strive.

Where there is no rank or title or monarch to consecrate the hereditary principle, the capillarity of society is great, and ambition is whetted to its keenest edge. For it is hope not need that animates men. Set ladders before them and they will climb until their heart-strings snap.

Without a social ladder, without infection from a leisure class that keys up its standard of comfort, a body of yeomen settling in a new and fertile land will be content with simplicity and rude plenty. A certain sluggishness prevails now among the Boers, as it prevailed among the first settlers beyond the Alleghenies. If, on the other hand, there is a social ladder, but it is occupied by those of a military or hereditary position, as in the Spanish communities of the southwest, there is likewise no stimulus to energy. But if vigorous men form new communities in close enough touch with rich and old communities to accept their exacting standards of comfort, without at the same time accepting their social ranking, each man has the greatest possible incentive to improve his condition. Such has been the relation of America to England, and of the West to the East.

This is why America spells Opportunity. Inspired by hope and ambition the last two generations of Americans have amazed the world by the breathless speed with which they have subdued the western half of the continent, and filled the wilderness with homes and cities. Never has the world seen such prodigies of labor, such miracles of enterprise, as the creation within a single lifetime of a vast ordered, civilized life between the Mississippi and the Pacific. Witnessing such lavished expenditures of human force, can we wonder at American "rush," American nervousness and heart failure, at gray hairs in the thirties and old age in the fifties, at our proverb "Time is money!" and at the ubiquitous American rocking chair or hammock which enables a tired man to rest very quickly!

Closely related to energy is the virtue of *self-reliance*. There is a boldness which rises at the elbow touch of one's fellows, and there is a stout-heartedness which inspires a man when he is alone. There is a courage which confronts resolutely a known danger, and a courage which faces perils unknown or vague. Now, it is this latter quality—self-reliance—which characterizes those who have migrated the oftenest and have migrated as individuals. On our frontier has always been found the Daniel Boone type, who cared little for the support of his kind and loved danger and adventure for its own sake. The American's faith in himself and confidence in the friendliness of the unknown may be due to his enlightenment, but it is more likely the unapprehensiveness that runs in the blood of a pioneering breed. Sometimes, as in the successive trekkings of the Boers from Cape Town to the Limpopo, the trait most intensified is independence and self-reliance. Sometimes, as in the settling of the Trans-Mississippi region, the premium is put on energy and push. But in any case voluntary migration demands *men*.

Even in an old country, that element of the population is destined to riches and power which excels in self-reliance and enterprise. Cities are now the places of opportunity

and of prosperity, and it has been shown conclusively that, in the urban upbuilding now going on in Central Europe, where long-skull Teutons and broad-skull Celto-Slavs are mingled, the cities are more Teutonic than the rural districts from which their population is recruited. The city is a magnet for the more venturesome, and it draws to it more of the long-skulled race than of the broad-skulled race. In spite of the fact that he has no greater wit and capacity than the Celt, the Teuton's superior migrancy takes him to the foci of prosperity, and procures him a higher reward and a superior social status.

Wherever there is pioneering or settlement to do, self-reliance is a supreme advantage. The expansion of the English-speaking peoples in the nineteenth century—the English in building their Empire, the Americans in subduing the West—seems to be due to this trait. Self-reliance is, in fact, a sovereign virtue in times of ferment or displacement. In static times, however, other qualities outweigh it, and the victory may fall to those who are patient, obedient, and quick-witted, rather than to the independent in spirit. If this be so, then the great question of the hour. What is to be the near destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race? involves the question whether we stand on the threshold of a dynamic, or a static epoch. If the former, well for the Anglo-Saxon; if the latter, it may be the Latins who, renewing their faith in themselves, will forge ahead.

I think there can be no doubt that we are entering a tumultuously dynamic epoch. Science, machinery and steam—our heritage from the past century—together constitute a new economic civilization which is destined to work in the world a transformation such as the plow works among nomads. Two centuries ago Europe had little to offer Asia in an industrial way. Now, in western Europe and in America, there exists an industrial technique which alters the face of society wherever it goes. The exploitation of nature and man by steam and machinery directed by techni-

cal knowledge, has the strongest of human forces behind it, and nothing can check its triumphant expansion over the planet. The Arab spreads the religion of Mahomet with the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other. The white man of to-day spreads his economic gospel, one hand on a Gatling, the other on a locomotive.

It will take at least two or three generations to level up the industrial methods of continents like South America or Africa or Asia, as a Jamaica, a Martinique, or a Hawaii have been levelled up; and all this time that race which excels in energy, self-reliance and education will have the advantage. When this furiously dynamic epoch closes, when the world becomes more static, and uniformism recurs, self-reliance will be at a discount, and the conditions will again favor the race that is patient, laborious, frugal, intelligent and apt in consolidation. Then, perhaps, the Celtic and Mediterranean races will score against the Anglo-Saxon.

For economic greatness perhaps no quality is more important than *foresight*. To live from hand to mouth taking no thought of the morrow, is the trait of primitive man generally, and especially of the races in the tropical lands where nature is bounteous, and the strenuous races have not yet made their competition felt. From the Rio Grande to the Rio de la Plata, the laboring masses, largely of Indian breed, are without a compelling vision of the future. The Mexicans, our consuls write us, are "occupied in obtaining food and amusement for the passing hour without either hope or desire for a better future." They are always in debt, and the workman hired for a job asks something in advance to buy materials or to get something to eat. "Slaves of local attachments" they will not migrate in order to get higher wages. In Ecuador the laborer lets to-morrow take care of itself and makes no effort to accumulate. In Guiana, where Hindoos, Chinese, Portuguese, and Creoles labor side by side, the latter squander their earnings while the immigrants from the old economic civilizations all lay by in order to

return home and enjoy. In Colombia the natives will not save, nor will they work in order to supply themselves with comforts. In British Honduras the natives are happy-go-lucky negroes who rarely save and who spend their earnings on festivals and extravagances, rather than on comforts and decencies. In Venezuela the laborers live for to-day and all their week's earnings are gone by Monday morning. The Brazilians work as little as they can and live, and save no money; are satisfied so long as they have a place to sleep and enough to eat.

Since, under modern conditions, abundant production is bound up, not so much with patient toil, as with the possession of ample capital, it is evident that, in the economic rivalry of races, the palm goes to the race that discounts the future least and is willing to exchange present pleasures for future gratifications most nearly at par. The power to do this depends partly on a lively imagination of remote experiences to come, partly on the self-control that can deny present cravings, or resist temptation in favor of the thrifty course recommended by reason. We may, in fact, distinguish two types of men, the sensori-motor moved by sense-impressions and by sensory images, and the ideo-motor moved by ideas. For it is probable that the provident races do not accumulate simply from the liveliness of their anticipation of future wants or gratifications, but from the domination of certain ideas. The tenant who is saving to build a cottage of his own is not animated simply by a picture of coming satisfactions. All his teaching, all his contact with his fellows, conspire to make "home" the goal of his hopes, to fill his horizon with that one radiant idea. So in the renter who is scrimping in order to get himself a farm as in the immigrant who is laying by to go back and "be somebody" in the old country, the attraction of a thousand vaguely imagined pleasures is concentrated in one irresistible idea. The race that can make *ideas* the lodestars of life is certain to supplant a race of impulsivists absorbed in sensations, and recollections or anticipations of sensations.

It is certain that races differ in their attitude toward past and future. M. Lapie has drawn a contrast between the Arab and the Jew. The Arab *remembers*; he is mindful of past favors and past injuries. He harbors his vengeance and cherishes his gratitude. He accepts everything on the authority of tradition, loves the ways of his ancestors, forms strong local attachments, and migrates little. The Jew, on the other hand, turns his face toward the future. He is thrifty and always ready for a good stroke of business, will, indeed, join with his worst enemy if it pays. He is calculating, enterprising, migrant and ambitious.

An economic quality quite distinct from foresight is the *value sense*. By this I mean that facility of abstraction and calculation which enables a man to fix his interest on the value in goods rather than on the goods themselves. The mere husbandman is a utility perceiver. He knows the power of objects to keep human beings alive and happy, and has no difficulty in recognizing what is good and what is not. But the trader is a value perceiver. Not what a thing is good for, but what it will fetch, engages his attention. Generic utilities are relatively stable, for wine and oil and cloth are always and everywhere fit to meet human wants; but value is a chameleon-like thing, varying greatly from time to time and place to place and person to person. The successful trader dares form no fixed ideas with regard to his wares. He must pursue the elusive value that hovers now here and now there, and be ready at any moment to readjust his notions. He must be a calculator. He must train himself to recognize the abstract in the concrete and to distill the abstract out of the concrete. Economically, then, the trader is to the husbandman what the husbandman is to the hunter. The appearance of cities, money, and commerce puts a premium on the man who can perceive value. He accumulates property and founds a house, while his less skillful rival sinks and is devoured by war and by labor.

All through that ancient world which produced the Phœ-

necian, the Jew, the Greek and the Roman, the acquisition of property made a difference in survival we can hardly understand to-day. Our per capita production is probably three or four times as great as theirs was, and hence the grain-handlers of Buffalo are vastly more able to maintain a family than were the grain-handlers of old Carthage or Alexandria. All around the Mediterranean trade prospered the value perceivers, and that type tended to multiply and tinge more and more the psychology and ideals of the classic world. In ancient society the difference in death rates and in family-supporting power of the various industrial grades exceeded anything we are familiar with, and hence those who were steady and thrifty in labor or shrewd and prudent in trade vastly improved their chances of survival. Thus the economic man multiplied, and commercial, money-making Byzantium rose on the ruins of the old races. "Long before the seat of empire was moved to Constantinople," says Mr. Freeman, "the name of Roman had ceased to imply even a presumption of descent from the old patricians and plebeians." "The Julius, the Claudius, the Cornelius of those days was for the most part no Roman by lineal descent, but a Greek, a Gaul, a Spaniard or an Illyrian."

Between the economic type and the military type there is abrupt contrast, and the social situation cannot well favor them both at the same time. The warrior shows passionate courage and the sway of impulse and imagination. The trader is calculating, counts the cost, and prizes a whole skin. From the second century B. C. the substitution of this type for the old, heroic, Cincinnatus type went on so rapidly that a recent writer finds congenital cowardice to be the mark of the Roman Senate and nobility during the empire. We all know the brilliant picture that Mr. Brooks Adams, in his "Law of Civilization and Decay," has given of the replacement of the military by the economic type in western Europe since the Crusades.

If this hypothesis be sound, the value perceiving sense is to be looked for in old races that have long known cities, money and trade. The Jew came under these influences at least twelve centuries earlier than did our Teutonic ancestors and has therefore had about forty or fifty generations the start of us in becoming economic. Equal or even greater is the lead of the Chinaman. It is, then, no wonder that the Jews and the Chinese are the two most formidable mercantile races in the world to-day, just as, in the Middle Ages, the Greeks and the Italians were the most redoubtable traffickers and money-makers in Europe. The Scotchman, the Fleming, and the Yankee, minor and later economic varieties developed in the West, can, indeed, exist alongside the Jew. The less mercantile German, however, fails to hold his own, and vents his wrath in Anti-Semitism. The Slav, unsophisticated and rural, loses invariably in his dealings with the Jew, and so harshly drives him out in vast numbers.

May we not, then, conveniently recognize two stages in the development away from the barbarian? Hindoos, Japanese, North Africans and Europeans, in their capacity for steady labor, their foresight, and their power to save, constitute what I will call *the domesticated races*. But the Jews, the Chinese, the Parsees, the Armenians, and in general the peoples about the Mediterranean constitute *the economic races*. The expurgated and deleted Teuton of the West, on the other hand, is more recently from the woods, and remains something of the barbarian after all. We see it in his migratoriness, his spirit of adventure, his love of dangerous sports, his gambling propensities, his craving for strong drink, his living up to his standard of comfort whether he can afford it or not. In quest of excitement he betakes himself to the Far West or the Klondike, whereas the Jew betakes himself to the Board of Trade or the Bourse. In direct competition with the more economic type the Anglo-Saxon is handicapped by lack of patience and financial acumen, but still his virtues insure him a rich portion. His energy and self-

reliance locate him in cities and in the spacious, thriving parts of the earth where the economic reward is highest. Born pioneer, he prospects the wilderness, pre-empting the richest deposits of the precious metals and skimming the cream from the resources of nature. Strong in war and in government, he jealously guards his own from the economic races, and meets finesse with force; so that despite his less developed value sense, more and more the choice lands and the riches of the earth come into his possession and support his brilliant yet solid civilization.

It is through no inadvertence that I have not brought forward *the martial traits* as a cause of race superiority. I do not believe that the martial traits apart from economic prowess are likely in the future to procure success to any race. When men kill one another by arms of precision instead of by stabbing and hacking, the knell is sounded for purely warelike races like the Vandals, the Huns and the Turks. Invention has so completely transformed warfare that it has become virtually an extra-hazardous branch of engineering. The factory system receives its latest and supreme application in the killing of men. Against an intelligent force equipped with the modern specialized appliances of slaughter no amount of mere warlike manhood can prevail. The fate of the Dervishes is typical of what must more and more often occur when *men* are pitted against properly operated lethal *machinery*.

Now, the war factory is as expensive as it is effective. None but the economic races, up to their eyes in capital and expert in managing machinery, can keep it running long. Warfare is becoming a costly form of competition in which the belligerents shed each other's treasure rather than each other's blood. A nation loses, not when it is denuded of men, but when it is at the end of its financial resources. War is, in fact, coming to be the supreme, economic touchstone, testing systems of cultivation and transportation and banking, as well as personal courage and military organization.

At the same time that war is growing more expensive it is becoming less profitable. The fruits of victory are often mere apples of Sodom. A decent respect for the opinion of mankind debars a civilized people from massacring the conquered in order to plant its own colonists on their land, from enslaving them, from bleeding them with heavy and perpetual tribute. Fortunate, indeed, is the victor if he can extort enough to indemnify him for his outlay. Therefore, at the very moment that the cost of war increases, the declining profits of war stamp it as an industry of decreasing returns. Wealth is a means of procuring victory, but victory is no longer a means of procuring wealth. A non-martial race may easily become victorious by means of its prosperity, but it will be harder and harder for a non-economic race to become prosperous by means of its victories. Even now the Turks in Europe are declining in numbers, and in spite of Armenian massacres the industrial races of the empire are growing up through the top-dressing of oppressors. It would seem safe to say that the purely war-like traits no longer insure race survival and expansion, and that in the competitions of the future the traits which enhance economic efficiency are likely to be most decisive.

In the dim past when cultures were sporadic, each developing apart in some island or river delta or valley closet, no race could progress unless it bore its crop of inventive genius. A high average of capacity was not so important as a few Gutenbergs and Faradays in each generation to make lasting additions to the national culture. If fruitful initiatives were forthcoming, imitation and education could be trusted to make them soon the common possession of all.

But when culture becomes cosmopolitan, as it is to-day, the success of a race turns much more on the efficiency of its average units than on the inventions and discoveries of its geniuses. The heaven-sent man who invents the locomotive, or the dynamo, or the germ theory, confers thereby no exclu-

sive advantage on his people or his race. So perfect is intellectual commerce, so complete is the organization of science, that almost at once the whole civilized world knows and profits by his achievements. Nowadays the pioneering genius belongs to mankind, and however patriotic he may be he aids most the race that is most prompt and able to exploit his invention. Parasitism of this kind, therefore, tends to annul genius as a factor in race survival. During the century just closed the French intellect has stood supreme in its contributions to civilization; yet France has derived no exclusive advantage from her men of genius. It is differences in the qualities of the common men of the rival peoples that explains why France has not doubled its population in a century, while the English stock in the meantime has peopled some of the choicest parts of the world and more than quadrupled its numbers.

Henceforth this principle of cosmopolitanism must be reckoned with. Even if the Chinese have not yet vanquished the armies of the West with Mauser rifles supplied from Belgium, there is no reason why that mediocre and intellectually sterile race may not yet defeat us industrially by the aid of machines and processes conceived in the fertile brains of our Edisons and Marconis. Organizing talent, of course,—industrial, administrative, military,—each race must, in the long run, produce from its own loins; but in the industrial Armageddon to come it may be that the laurels will be won by a mediocre type of humanity, equipped with the science and the appliances of the more brilliant and brain-fertile peoples. Not preponderance of genius will be decisive, but more and more the energy, self-reliance, fecundity, and acquired skill of the average man; and the nation will do most for itself that knows how best to foster these winning qualities by means of education and wise social institutions.

How far does moral excellence profit a race? Those who hold that *Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht* tell us that the weal or woe of nations depends upon morals. Indeed,

every flourishing people lays its prosperity first to its religion, and then to its moral code. Climatic adaptation or economic capacity is the last thing to be thought of as a cause of superiority.

The chief moral trait of a winning race is *stability of character*. Primitive peoples are usually over-emotional and poised unstably between smiles and tears. They act quickly if at all, and according to the impulse of the moment. The Abyssinian, for example, is fickle, fleeting and perjured, the Kirghiz "fickle and uncertain," the Bedouin "loves and honors violent acts." The courage of the Mongol is "a sudden blaze of pugnacity" rather than a cool intrepidity. We recall Carlyle's comparing Gallic fire which is "as the crackling of dry thorns under a pot," with the Teutonic fire which rises slowly but will smelt iron. In private endeavor perseverance, in the social economy the keeping of promises, and in the state steadfastness—these are the requisites of success, and they all depend on stability of character. Reliability in business engagements and settled reverence for law are indispensable in higher social development. The great economic characteristics of this age are the tendency to association, the growth of exchange, the increasing use of capital and the greater elaborateness of organization. They all imply the spreading of business over more persons, more space, and more time, and the increasing dependence of every enterprise upon what certain persons have been appointed to do or have engaged to do. Unreliable persons who fail to do their duty or keep their promises are quickly extruded from the economic organization. Industrial evolution, therefore, places a rising premium on reflection and self-control, the foundations of character. More and more it penalizes the childishness or frivolousness of the cheaply-gotten-up, *mañana* races.

As regards the altruistic virtues, they are too common to confer a special advantage. Honesty, docility, faithfulness

and other virtues that lessen social friction abound at every stage of culture and in almost every breed. The economic virtues are a function of *race*; but the moral virtues seem rather to be a function of *association*. They do not make society; society makes them. Just as the joint secretes the lubricating synovial fluid so every settled community, if undisturbed, secretes in time the standards, ideals and imperatives which are needed to lessen friction. Good order is, in fact, so little a monopoly of the higher races that the attainment of it is more difficult among Americans at Dutch Flat or Skagway than it is among Eskimos or Indians. Sociability and sympathy are, indeed, serviceable in promoting cohesion among natural men; but they are of little account in the higher social architecture. The great races have been stern and grasping, with a strong property sense. More and more the purposive triumphs over the spontaneous association; so that the great historic social edifices are built on concurrence of aims, on custom or religion or law, never on mere brotherly feeling.

Indeed, the primary social sentiments are at variance with that sturdy self-reliance which, as we have seen, enables a race to overrun the earth. It was observed even in the California gold diggings that the French miners stayed together, while the solitary American or Briton serenely roamed the wilderness with his outfit on a burro, and made the richest "strikes." To-day a French railway builder in Tonkin says of the young French engineers in his employ: "They sicken, morally and physically, these fellows. They need papa and mamma! I had good results from bringing them together once or twice a week, keeping them laughing, making them amuse themselves and each other, in spite of lack of amusement. Then all would go well." It is perhaps this cruel homesickness which induces the French to restrict their numbers rather than expatriate themselves to over-sea colonies. Latin sociability is the fountain of many of the graces that make life worth living, but it is certainly

a handicap in just this critical epoch, when the apportionment of the earth among the races depends so much on a readiness to fight, trade, prospect or colonize thousands of miles from home.

The superiority of a race cannot be preserved without *pride of blood* and an uncompromising attitude toward the lower races. In Spanish America the easygoing and unfastidious Spaniard peopled the continent with half-breeds and met the natives half way in respect to religious and political institutions. In East Africa and Brazil the Portuguese showed toward the natives even less of that race aversion which is so characteristic of the Dutch and the English. In North America, on the other hand, the white men have rarely mingled their blood with that of the Indian or toned down their civilization to meet his capacities. The Spaniard absorbed the Indians, the English exterminated them by fair means or foul. Whatever may be thought of the latter policy, the net result is that North America from the Behring Sea to the Rio Grande is dedicated to the highest type of civilization; while for centuries the rest of our hemisphere will drag the ball and chain of hybridism.

Since the higher culture should be kept pure as well as the higher blood, that race is stronger which, down to the cultivator or the artisan, has a *strong sense of its superiority*. When peoples and races meet there is a silent struggle to determine which shall do the assimilating. The issue of this grapple turns not wholly on the relative excellence of their civilizations, but partly on the degree of faith each has in itself and its ideals. The Greeks assimilated to themselves all the peoples about the Mediterranean save the Jew, partly because the humblest wandering Greek despised "the barbarians," and looked upon himself as a missionary to the heathen. The absorbent energy of the United States probably surpasses that of any mere colony because of the stimulus given us by an independent national existence. America is a psychic maelstrom that has sucked in and swallowed up

hosts of aliens. Five millions of Germans, for instance, have joined us, and yet how little has our institutional development been deflected by them ! I dare say the few thousand university-trained Germans, and Americans educated in Heidelberg or Göttingen, have injected more German culture into our veins than all the immigrants that ever passed through Castle Garden. There is no doubt that the triumph of Americanism over these heterogeneous elements, far more decisive now than eighty years ago, has been hastened by the vast contempt that even the native farm-hand or mechanic feels for the unassimilated immigrant. Had he been less sure of himself, had he felt less pride in American ideals and institutions, the tale might have been different.

One question remains. Is the Superior Race as we have portrayed it, able to survive all competitions and expand under all circumstances ? There is, I am convinced, one respect in which very foresight and will power that mark the higher race dig a pit beneath its feet.

In the presence of the plenty produced by its triumphant energy the superior race forms what the economists call "a Standard of Comfort," and refuses to multiply save upon this plane. With his native ambition stimulated by the opportunity to rise and his natural foresight reinforced by education, the American, for example, overrules his strongest instincts and refrains from marrying or from increasing his family until he can realize his subjective standard of comfort or decency. The power to form and cling to such a standard is not only one of the noblest triumphs of reason over passion, but is, in sooth, the only sure hope for the elevation of the mass of men from the abyss of want and struggle. The progress of invention held out such a hope but it has proven a mockery. Steam and machinery, it is true, ease for a little the strain of population on resources; but if the birth-rate starts forward and the slack is soon taken up by the increase of mouths, the final result is simply more people living on the old plane. The rosy glow thrown upon

the future by progress in the industrial arts proves but a false dawn unless the common people acquire new wants and raise the plane upon which they multiply.

Now, this rising standard, which alone can pilot us toward the Golden Age, is a fatal weakness when a race comes to compete industrially with a capable race that multiplies on a lower plane. Suppose, for example, Asiatics flock to this country and, enjoying equal opportunities under our laws, learn our methods and compete actively with Americans. They may be able to produce and therefore earn in the ordinary occupations, say three-fourths as much as Americans ; but if their standard of life is only half as high, the Asiatic will marry before the American feels able to marry. The Asiatic will rear two children while his competitor feels able to rear but one. The Asiatic will increase his children to six under conditions that will not encourage the American to raise more than four. Both, perhaps, are forward-looking and influenced by the worldly prospects of their children ; but where the Oriental is satisfied with the outlook the American, who expects to school his children longer and place them better, shakes his head.

Now, to such a competition there are three possible results. First, the American, becoming discouraged, may relinquish his exacting standard of decency and begin to multiply as freely as the Asiatic. This, however, is likely to occur only among the more reckless and worthless elements of our population. Second, the Asiatic may catch up our wants as well as our arts, and acquire the higher standard and lower rate of increase of the American. This is just what contact and education are doing for the French Canadians in New England, for the immigrants in the West, and for the negro in some parts of the South ; but the members of a great culture race like the Chinese show no disposition, even when scattered sparsely among us, to assimilate to us or to adopt our standards. Not until their self-complacency has been undermined at home and an extensive intellectual

ferment has taken place in China itself will the Chinese become assimilable elements. Thirdly, the standards may remain distinct, the rates of increase unequal, and the silent replacement of Americans by Asiatics go on unopposed until the latter monopolize all industrial occupations, and the Americans shrink to a superior caste able perhaps by virtue of its genius, its organization, and its vantage of position to retain for a while its hold on government, education, finance, and the direction of industry, but hopelessly beaten and displaced as a race. In other words, the American farm hand, mechanic and operative might wither away before the heavy influx of a prolific race from the Orient, just as in classic times the Latin husbandman vanished before the endless stream of slaves poured into Italy by her triumphant generals.

For a case like this I can find no words so apt as "race suicide." There is no bloodshed, no violence, no assault of the race that waxes upon the race that wanes. The higher race quietly and unobtrusively eliminates itself rather than endure individually the bitter competition it has failed to ward off from itself by collective action. The working classes gradually delay marriage and restrict the size of the family as the opportunities hitherto reserved for their children are eagerly snapped up by the numerous progeny of the foreigner. The prudent, self-respecting natives first cease to expand, and then, as the struggle for existence grows sterner and the outlook for their children darker, they fail even to recruit their own numbers. It is probably the visible narrowing of the circle of opportunity through the infiltration of Irish and French Canadians that has brought so low the native birth-rate in New England.

However this may be, it is certain that if we venture to apply to the American people of to-day the series of tests of superiority I have set forth to you at such length, the result is most gratifying to our pride. It is true that our average of energy and character is lowered by the presence in the South

of several millions of an inferior race. It is true that the last twenty years have diluted us with masses of fecund but beaten humanity from the hovels of far Lombardy and Galicia. It is true that our free land is gone and our opportunities will henceforth attract immigrants chiefly from the humbler strata of East European peoples. Yet, while there are here problems that only high statesmanship can solve, I believe there is at the present moment no people in the world that is, man for man, equal to the Americans in capacity and efficiency. We stand now at the moment when the gradual westward migration has done its work. The tonic selections of the frontier have brought us as far as they can bring us. The testing individualizing struggle with the wilderness has developed in us what it would of body, brain and character.

Moreover, free institutions and universal education have keyed to the highest tension the ambitions of the American. He has been chiefly farmer and is only beginning to expose himself to the deteriorating influences of city and factory. He is now probably at the climax of his energy and everything promises that in the centuries to come he is destined to play a brilliant and leading rôle on the stage of history.

III. The Race Problem at the South

The Race Problem at the South

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

By Col. Hilary A. Herbert, ex-Secretary of the Navy



THE RACE PROBLEM AT THE SOUTH.

By COL. HILARY A. HERBERT,

Ex-Secretary of the Navy.

This is a land of free speech. Americans may now discuss anywhere, North or South, even their Negro question in all its bearings. This it has not always been easy to do even in this historic city, which claims the proud distinction of being the birthplace of American liberties. In 1859 George William Curtis became temporarily a hero by an anti-slavery speech in Philadelphia. A mob had gathered to prevent him, but the mayor of the city, backed by the police, succeeded in protecting the speaker, who delivered his address in spite of the missiles that were hurled into the room where he spoke. The next year, however, so violent were the passions of the day that the friends of that great orator could not hire a hall in this city for Mr. Curtis to lecture in, even on a subject totally disconnected with the Negro, or with politics.

In those days the Negro question was full of dynamite, because we then had in this country two systems, I might almost say two civilizations, one founded on free and the other intimately interwoven with and largely dependent upon slave labor. They were in sharp conflict with each other, and therefore it was that free discussion of the slavery question, or Negro problem, was then sometimes difficult at the North, while it was everywhere impossible in the South. Abolition sentiment was proclaiming in the North that slavery must go, no matter at what cost. In the South, therefore, the stern law of self-preservation demanded the rigid suppression of free speech on this question, lest discussion should incite insurrection, and light the midnight torch of the incendiary. In the North the motive of the mobs which, like those who gathered around Mr. Curtis here in

1859, and who called themselves Union men, was to prevent abolition speeches because they saw in them disunion or civil war, or it might be both civil war and disunion. The civil war came; it was terrible; more terrible than dreamer ever dreamed of. But it is over, and there will never be disunion; no one fears it now, because now no one desires it. Slavery is dead, and can never be resurrected. So, therefore, there is now nothing to hinder free speech, here or elsewhere in our country, about the race problem in the South. We are all here to aid, as far as we may, in its correct solution. The city in which this meeting is convened, the auspices under which we are met, the startling contrasts in the antecedents of those who are to take part in the discussion, all are propitious. This Academy is seeking knowledge.

But let us not lose sight of the fact that many years had rolled away after our Civil War, before a meeting comprising so many divergent elements as this became possible, even in the city of Philadelphia. If in 1861 there was dynamite in the Negro question, so when that dynamite had exploded, and when states had been wrecked and social and economic systems shattered, the problems that grew out of the Negro question were quite as exciting when up for discussion as had been slavery itself.

The most acute form in which this many-sided question then presented itself was suffrage, and every student now knows that political science played no part in its solution, that the reconstruction acts were passed and the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted when party spirit was more intolerant than it had ever been before, and the passions of war were still blazing fiercely. The Constitution of the fathers was framed in this city after mature deliberation behind closed doors. The Fifteenth Amendment, changing that instrument fundamentally, was formulated after heated debate in Congress, on the rostrum, and in the newspapers throughout the land. In debating the question of granting

suffrage by law to millions of ex-slaves, and then of clinching the right by a constitutional provision intended to secure it forever, whether it worked for good or evil, the fundamental proposition for consideration should have been the fitness of the Negro. Was he intellectually, by training and antecedents, competent to take part—often a controlling part—in the great business of government? But the case did not turn on that point, the discussion was always wide of that mark. The nearest approach to the question of the fitness of the ex-slave for the ballot was this argument: Did not the government free the Negro? Was he not the ward of the nation? Did not the government owe him protection? And how could he protect himself without the ballot?

This, though fitness was assumed without argument to support it, is the most defensible of all the grounds on which the Fifteenth Amendment became part of the Constitution. If the Negro had only possessed the qualifications which political science tells us are essential in those on whose shoulders rest the burdens of republican government, with the ballot in hand he would not only have protected himself, but he would have given to the Southern States, and he would have helped to give to the nation, the blessings of good government. But the fitness for the ballot that had been taken for granted did not exist. The political structures based on Negro ballots, like the house of the unwise man in the Scriptures, fell because they were builded upon sand.

Out of reconstruction and the Fifteenth Amendment have come many of the peculiar phases, and nearly all the aggravations which now beset the "race problem at the South," the subject before you for discussion this afternoon. . In the days of reconstruction the teachings of political science as such, and of ethnology, its handmaid, had made but little impression in America. Political science had been taught, it is true in William and Mary College, to Jefferson and other Virginia states-

men prior to the Revolution, and there were, prior to 1860, in a few scattered American colleges, solitary professors lecturing occasionally on the subject, but great schools of political science and great academies like this are of recent growth.

This Academy and its co-laborers did not come too soon; they did not enter the field before the harvest was ripe. As our country expands it has need for wider knowledge. It is dealing now not only with its Negroes in the South, but with Cuban and Porto Rican and Philippine populations, and it needs not only accurate knowledge of all these peoples, but, facing as we do a future that will bring to us questions as momentous as they will be novel, the time has come when we must search carefully for and familiarize our people with the lessons of our own history, that our experience may be a lamp to guide our feet. You gentlemen of this Academy have set yourselves to that work, and I am very sure you will do it fearlessly. The task you have set yourself requires high thinking and bold speaking. Where our fathers acted wisely you will hold up their example to imitation. Where they made mistakes, you will not hesitate to point them out.

Professor Cope, the great naturalist of your University, was a pioneer in the field you are exploring. A few years ago he made a notable contribution to the discussion of the race problem you are to consider this evening. It was a series of articles published in the *Open Court*, a Chicago periodical, discussing, from the standpoint of a naturalist, the differences between the white man and the Negro. He showed the inferiority of the Negro, and contended that the Mulatto was in many respects, which he carefully pointed out, inferior to both his parents. Then he left the firm ground of science on which he was at home, and surmised that intermarriage would hereafter become common in the South. If this surmise should be correct, then there would follow, as he had proven, the destruction of a large portion

of the finest race upon earth, the whites of the South. To prevent this result he argued that the government could well afford, whatever might be the cost, to deport all the Negroes from the South. This admixture of the races let us hope will not take place, and deportation is impossible.

If these articles had been written and published in 1860 who can estimate the opprobrium that would have been heaped upon Professor Cope and the University of Pennsylvania. But in the nineties the publication excited no comment. It was simply a scientific contribution to the discussion of the Negro question. The day of free thought and free speech even on our race problem had come.

So I am free here and now to say to you, and you will consider it for what it is worth, that in my opinion the granting of universal suffrage to the Negro was the mistake of the nineteenth century. I say that, believing myself to be a friend to the Negro, willing and anxious that he shall have fair play and the fullest opportunity under the law to develop himself to his utmost capacity. Suffrage wronged the Negro, because he could only develop by practicing industry and economy, while learning frugality. It was a mistake to tempt him away from the field of labor into the field of politics, where, as a rule, he could understand nothing that was taught him except the color line. Negro suffrage was a wrong to the white man of the South, for it brought him face to face with a situation in which he concluded, after some years of trial, that in order to preserve his civilization he must resort to fraud in elections, and fraud in elections, wherever it may be practiced, is like the deadly upas tree; it scatters its poisons in every direction. Universal suffrage in the South has demoralized our politics there. It has created a bitterness between the present generations of whites and blacks that had never existed between the ex-slave and his former master. These are among the complications of the problem you are studying. Another crying evil that has resulted to the people of the

South and of the whole Union is that we now have an absolutely solid South, where the necessity for white supremacy is so dominant that no political question can be discussed on its merits, and whites do not divide themselves between the two national parties. What we need in the Southern States to-day, above all things, is two political parties, strong enough and able to deal with each other at arms'-length.

The Negro's prospects for improvement, his development since emancipation, his industrial conditions, his relation to crime, the scanty results of the system of education that has been pursued, how that system can be bettered—all these questions as they exist to-day are before you for debate. Here and there, among Southern people, are some who in despair are advocating that no more money be spent by the whites for the education of the blacks. This, I am glad to say, is not the prevailing sentiment. The Southern people, as a rule, believe that we should continue to strive for the development of the Negro and the lifting of him up to a higher plane, where he may be more useful to himself and to the state. Most of us are looking hopefully to that system which is now being so successfully practiced in different Southern schools, and notably at Tuskegee, Alabama. Booker T. Washington, the president of that institution, is one of the remarkable men of to-day. A paper from his pen was to have been read before you.¹ Unfortunately it has not reached you yet, but it will come. Every opinion he may express, and every fact he may state, is entitled to most careful consideration. Two eminent speakers are here to discuss the questions which I have only attempted to indicate, and I will detain you no longer.

This meeting is open for business.

Our next speaker is Dr. George T. Winston, president of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. President Winston is a Southerner, a native of North

¹ This paper was not received in time for publication in this volume, but will appear in a later issue of the ANNALS.—EDITOR.

Carolina, his father was a slave owner ; he himself is a graduate of Cornell, and there were two Negroes in his class. He has enjoyed exceptional opportunities for study and for understanding the subject of which he will speak to you, which is "The Relation of the Whites to the Negroes." I introduce Dr. Winston.

The Relation of the Whites to the Negroes

**By President George T. Winston, LL. D., North Carolina
College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts**

THE RELATION OF THE WHITES TO THE NEGROES.

By President GEORGE T. WINSTON,

North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

Since the abolition of slavery a great change has taken place in the relations of the whites to the Negroes in the Southern states. This change has been one not merely of ownership and legal authority, but of personal interest, of moral influence, of social and industrial relations.

To-day there is practically no social intercourse between the two races, excepting such as exists between the Negroes and the most degraded whites. It was far different in slavery. Then the two races mingled freely together, not on terms of social equality, but in very extended and constant social intercourse. In almost every household the children of the two races played and frolicked together, or hunted, fished or swam together in the fields, streams and forests. During my childhood and boyhood the greater portion of my play-time was spent in games and sports with Negroes. Scarcely any pleasure was so great to a southern child as playing with Negroes. In the long summer evenings we would play and romp until bed-time in the spacious yard surrounding the house, or in the garden or neighboring fields. I remember well how the evenings would fly by, and how my mother would grant repeated extensions of time, "just to play one more game of fox-and-geese, or hide-the-switch." Some of the songs that we sang and some of the games that we played, part singing, part acting, part dancing, still linger in my memory and carry me back to the happiness of childhood. Always in my childhood memories, especially in happy memories, I find associated together my mother, my home, and the Negro slaves.

During the winter evenings, when it was disagreeable out of doors, I would get permission for four or five Negro boys and girls to play with me in the library, or in the nursery. Here we would play indoor games; jack-straws, blind-man's-buff, checks, checkers, pantomime, geography puzzles, conundrum matches and spelling bees. Frequently I would read the Negroes fairy stories, or show them pictures in the magazines and books of art. I remember how we used to linger over a beautiful picture of Lord William Russell bidding adieu to his family before going to execution; and how in boyish way I would tell the Negroes the story of his unhappy fate and his wife's devotion. Another favorite picture was the coronation of Queen Victoria. How we delighted in "Audubon's Birds" and in the beautifully colored plates and animals in the government publications on natural history. The pleasure was by no means one-sided. To our hotch-pot of amusement and instruction the Negroes contributed marvelous tales of birds and animals, which more than offset my familiar reminiscences of Queen Victoria and Lord Russell.

It was a great privilege during slavery for the white children to visit Negro cabins at night and listen to their folk lore. Those delightful stories immortalized by Joel Chandler Harris, in the character of Uncle Remus, I heard many times in my youth, and many others besides equally delightful. There is a marvelous attraction between a white child and a Negro; even between a little child and a grown Negro. I always found it a pleasure to sit in the cabins and watch them at work. It was a pleasure just to be with them. I have eaten many a meal with my father's slaves in their cabins, always treated with consideration, respect and affection, but not greater than I myself felt for the master and mistress of the humble cabin. My mother would have punished severely any disrespect or rudeness on my part toward the older Negroes. I would not have dared to call them by their names. It was always "Uncle Tom" or

"Aunt Susan," when I addressed them. This form of appellation was common in the South between whites and blacks. Even a strange Negro, whose name was not known, however humble he might be, was saluted on the high road, when passed by a respectable white person, with the friendly greeting of "Howdye, Uncle," or "Howdye, Auntie."

Social intercourse between white and black during slavery was not confined to children. Not infrequently the Negro women would come to the "White House" to see the mistress, often in the evenings, sitting and chatting in the nursery or the ladies' sitting room. Visits to the slave cabins were made regularly, oftentimes daily, by the white women of the household, who went not merely to visit the sick and inspect the children, to advise and direct about work and household matters, but to show their personal interest in and regard for the Negroes themselves, not as slaves, nor workers, but as individuals, as human beings, and sometimes as dear friends. In short, a social visit was made; not upon terms of social equality, but still a social visit, during which the news of the plantation or neighborhood, and occasionally of the larger world, was exchanged and discussed. ~~This custom existed to some extent even on large plantations,~~ where the slaves were more isolated and herded together in larger numbers. On small farms, where the races were about equal numerically, and in all households there was constant and very familiar contact between white and black. The white women in Southern households usually aided and directed the work of the Negroes. The mistress sewed or cut garments in the same room with the slave seamstresses. The lady's maid slept upon a couch or pallet in her lady's chamber, or the one adjoining. The cooks, dining-room servants, nurses, laundresses, coachmen, houseboys, gardeners, shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths and mechanics generally were in daily enjoyment of a very considerable degree of social intercourse with the white race. They entered into the traditions and spirit of the family to

which they belonged, defended its name and its honor, accepted in a rude way its ideas of courtesy, morality and religion, and thus became to a considerable degree inheritors of the civilization of the white race. It was this semi-social intercourse between the two races, without any approach to social equality, this daily and hourly contact producing personal interest, friendship and affection, added to the industrial training of slavery that transformed the Negro so quickly from a savage to a civilized man.

The one great evil connected with race familiarity, the evil of licentiousness and miscegenation, while degrading to the white race was not entirely harmful to the Negro. Nearly all the leaders of the Negro race, both during slavery and since, have been Mulattoes; and the two really great men credited to the Negro race in the United States have been the sons of white fathers, and strongly marked by the mental and moral qualities of the white race. The Mulatto is quicker, brighter, and more easily refined than the Negro. There is a general opinion among Southern people that he is inferior morally; but I believe that his only inferiority is physical and vital. It cannot be denied that the Negro race has been very greatly elevated by its Mulatto members. Indeed, if you strike from its records all that Mulattoes have said and done, little would be left. Wherever work requiring refinement, extra intelligence and executive ability is performed, you will find it usually directed by Mulattoes.

But the social intercourse between the races in the South, which was so helpful to the blacks, has now practically ceased. The children of this generation no longer play and frolic together. White ladies no longer visit Negro cabins. The familiar salutation of "Uncle" or "Auntie" is no longer heard. The lady's maid sleeps no more by the bedside of her mistress. The Southern woman with her helpless little children in solitary farm house no longer sleeps secure in the absence of her husband with doors unlocked but safely guarded by black men whose lives would be **freely**

given in her defence. But now, when a knock is heard at the door, she shudders with nameless horror. The black brute is lurking in the dark, a monstrous beast, crazed with lust. His ferocity is almost demoniacal. A mad bull or a tiger could scarcely be more brutal. A whole community is now frenzied with horror, with blind and furious rage for vengeance. A stake is driven ; the wretched brute, covered with oil, bruised and gashed, beaten and hacked and maimed, amid the jeers and shouts and curses, the tears of anger and of joy, the prayers and the maledictions of thousands of civilized people, in the sight of school-houses, court-houses and churches is burned to death. Since the abolition of slavery and the growing up of a new generation of Negroes, crimes that are too hideous to describe have been committed every month, every week, frequently every day, against the helpless women and children of the white race, crimes that were unknown in slavery. And, in turn, cruelties have been inflicted upon Negroes by whole communities of whites, which, if attempted during slavery, would have been prevented at any sacrifice. I do not hesitate to say that more horrible crimes have been committed by the generation of Negroes that have grown up in the South since slavery than by the six preceding generations in slavery. And also that the worst cruelties of slavery all combined for two centuries were not equal to the savage barbarities inflicted in retaliation upon the Negroes by the whites during the last twenty years. This condition of things is too horrible to last. It must grow better ; or else grow worse, and by its own fury destroy both black and white.

Between the older generations in the South there is still warm affection. Whenever I visit my old home, all the Negroes that are able, come to see me, many traveling considerable distances. The last time I was there my nurse and playmate, a woman of fifty years, about six years my elder, threw her arms around me and wept like a child, completely overcome with emotion. She was honest, virtuous, industri-

ous, intelligent, affectionate and faithful. She had been raised from childhood by my mother and had slept every night in my mother's bed room. I am sure that every member of my father's family would have risked his life to protect her. And she would have greatly preferred death to seeing misfortune or disaster visit our family. My youngest brother's nurse, dying about ten years after emancipation, made her will and left her little store of goods and property, worth perhaps a hundred dollars, to her white nursling, "little Master Robert." A few days ago a Negro man was pardoned from the State penitentiary in North Carolina, by the Governor. The following letter secured his pardon. It was written by his former master and playmate, a captain in the Confederate army, an ex-member of Congress, a Democratic member of the recent State Legislature :

To His Excellency Honorable CHARLES B. AYCOCK, *Governor of North Carolina.*

DEAR SIR : I respectfully and earnestly petition you to pardon William Alexander, a Negro convicted of burglary in the year 1889, in Mecklenburg County. William was born on my father's plantation, and is about fifty-eight or fifty-nine years old, one or two years my junior. I need only state that his father was our coachman and his mother our cook, to show you my opportunity was good for knowing him. He was my slave, and his father and mother died on my plantation. William was not smart, or, to use a plantation term, was less bright than any of the young Negroes on the plantation. Knowing both of the Negroes connected with him in the burglary, I feel no hesitation in assuring you that I believe that they persuaded him to join them. William has now served about twelve years. This is an excessive punishment for a Negro of a low order of intelligence. If he came of a bad family, I would not ask his pardon. His family is as good as any Negro family in this state. He is the only one that has ever been indicted for crime. I could get others to sign a petition, but it would be a favor for me, not him, for an ordinary Negro confined in the penitentiary for twelve years is a forgotten man. Governor, I pray you to pardon William Alexander ; and, if he will, he can return to my plantation where the friend of his boyhood will give him a home.

Very respectfully,

RALEIGH, N. C., *March 26, 1901.*

S. B. ALEXANDER.

The industrial relations of the races have also undergone great changes in the South, though not so marked as the changes in social and personal relations. Under slavery almost all the labor of the South was performed by Negroes, or by Negroes and whites working side by side. The South was lacking in manufactures, and used little machinery. Its demand for skilled labor was not large, but what demand existed was supplied mainly by Negroes. Negro carpenters, plasterers, bricklayers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, painters, harnessmakers, tanners, millers, weavers, barrel-makers, basketmakers, shoemakers, chairmakers, coachmen, spinners, seamstresses, housekeepers, gardeners, cooks, laundresses, embroiderers, maids of all work, could be found in every community, and frequently on a single plantation. Skilled labor was more profitable than unskilled, and therefore every slave was made as skilful as was possible under a slave system. The young Negroes were brought up to labor, from an early age. The smartest girls were trained to domestic service in its various branches, and became practically members of the family, so far as careful training was concerned. Many of them could sew, knit, crochet, embroider, cut, fit and make garments, clean up house, wash and iron, spin and weave, even more skilfully than the mistress who had taught them. All the garments that I wore in childhood were made by Negroes or by my mother, with the single exception of the hat. Negro lads who showed aptitude for trades, were hired out under a sort of apprentice system, and taught to be skilful as carpenters, masons, smiths, and the like. The Negro artisans were very jealous of their rights, and stood upon their professional skill and knowledge. I remember, one day, my father, who was a lawyer, offered some suggestions to one of his slaves, a fairly-good carpenter, who was building us a barn. The old Negro heard him with ill-concealed disgust, and replied: "Look here, Master, you'se a first-rate lawyer, no doubt; but you don't know nothing 'bout carpenter-

ing. You better go back to your law books." The most accomplished housemaid, maid-of-all-work, laundress, nurse, dining-room servant, in our household was a woman named Emily, and the most accomplished man-of-all-work, carpenter, coachman, 'possum-hunter, fisherman, story-teller, boy amuser, was Emily's brother, Andrew. They had been given to my father in his youth by my grandfather, and had attended him to college, working in the dining-room, to pay for his education. They were present at my father's wedding, and for twenty years remained members of the household, exceedingly useful and skilful ; and, I may add, exceedingly privileged characters. They far surpassed in efficiency and versatility any white laborers in the county. I remember, one Sunday, the family came home earlier than usual from church, there being no services on account of the illness of the minister. On entering his bed room my father beheld a strange and yet familiar looking Negro arrayed in dress-suit standing in front of the mirror, with arms akimbo, and swallow-tails of the coat switching from side to side in token of pride and satisfaction. It was Emily, arrayed in her master's best suit, enjoying a new sensation. No punishment was inflicted on her. Nor do I remember that any of my father's slaves were ever punished, except such switching as was given the children, on which occasions I was usually present, a most unwilling participant and fellow-victim.

When emancipation came at the close of the Civil War, it was understood by the average Negro to mean freedom from labor. Freedom, leisure, idleness was now his greatest pleasure. How delightful it was to tell old master now that he had business in town and couldn't work to-day ; to leave the plow and hoe idle ; to meet other Negroes on the streets, to spend the day loafing, chatting, shouting, oftentimes drinking and dancing or quarreling and fighting. Sambo was now a gentleman of leisure, and he enjoyed it to the full. It was easy to live in the South. The mild climate

and fertile soil, the abundance of game in forest and stream, the bountiful supply of wild fruits, the accessibility of forests with firewood free to all, the openhanded generosity and universal carelessness of living made it possible for the average Negro to idle away at least half his time and yet live in tolerable comfort.

The national government, to guard against distress among the Negroes and to prevent oppression by the whites, neither of which was at all possible, now established throughout the South, for the distribution of food and clothing and the administration of justice between the races, the Freedman's Bureau. This institution was in every respect most unfortunate. The Negro ran away from his old master's cornfield and his appeals to work in order to enjoy the free bounty of the federal government. I knew a Negro to walk one hundred miles in order to obtain half a bushel of corn meal from the bureau. In the time required he might have earned by labor four and a half bushels, or nine times what he got by begging. But the evils of idleness, although great, would soon have passed away, if the two races had been left alone. The Southern whites were familiar with and very tolerant of the Negro's weaknesses and petty vices. They looked upon him with sympathy and sorrow, with friendship and affection, rather than with anger, resentment, and hostility. They were anxious to see him go to work even more diligently than in slavery, acquire property, and improve his moral and physical condition. The races still remained very close together, in their daily lives, interests and affections. They might have worked out a future along lines far different from those they are now following. It was decreed otherwise by fate.

The bestowal of political rights upon the Negro, the disfranchisement of almost every prominent white man in the South, the migration from the North of political carpet-baggers and their manipulation of the Negro vote, the Civil Rights Bill, the Force Bill, the zeal of educational and

religious missionaries, most of whom preached and practiced the social and civil equality of the races ; in short, the dark, dismal and awful night of Reconstruction, following swift upon the storm of Civil War with its unparalleled destruction of life and property, now threatened the very foundations of civilization in all the Southern states. The bonds between the races were broken at last. The Negro did not endorse all the demands that were made in his behalf. He knew they were impossible. Still he was profoundly influenced by them. In slavery he was like an animal in harness ; well trained, gentle and affectionate ; in early freedom the harness was off, but still the habit of obedience and the force of affection endured and prevented a run-away. In Reconstruction came a consciousness of being unharnessed, unhitched, unbridled and unrestrained. The wildest excesses followed. The machinery of government was seized in every Southern state by men recently slaves, now guided by political adventures. Southern halls of legislation, once glorified by the eloquence of Patrick Henry, the wisdom of Marshall, or the patriotism of Washington, now resounded with the drunken snorings or the unmeaning gibberish of Cuffee and Sambo. Negro strumpets in silks and satins led wild orgies at inaugural balls in marble halls that blushed and closed their eyes. "Uncle Tom" and "Aunt Susan" were now entirely vanished. The family cook now demanded to be known as Mrs. Jackson, and the chambermaid as Miss Marguerite. I know an unmarried Negress, about twenty-five years of age, the mother of three illegitimate children, who requires her own children to call her on all occasions, "Miss Mary." It was not a time for the learning of new trades by the emancipated race. It was not a time for new industries, or increased efficiency of labor. The Negro was intoxicated with the license of freedom ; the North was blinded by sentimentality and the passions of war ; the South was fighting for civilization and existence. It is all over now. I forbear to characterize it further.

Some day the historian, the poet, the painter, the dramatist will picture Reconstruction, and will make the saddest picture in the annals of the English-speaking race.

But Reconstruction is ended at last. For the first time since 1870 the National House of Representatives contains not a single Negro.

For the first time in our history the American Negro is almost friendless. The North, tired of Negro politicians and Negro beggars, is beginning to say : " We have helped the Negro enough ; let him now help himself and work out his own salvation." The South, worn out with strife over the Negro and supporting with difficulty its awful burden of Negro ignorance, inefficiency and criminality, is beginning to ask whether the race is really capable of development, or is a curse and a hindrance in the way of Southern progress and civilization.

~~The two races are drifting apart.~~ They were closer together in slavery than they have been since. Old time sympathies, friendships and affections created by two centuries of slavery, are rapidly passing away. A single generation of freedom has almost destroyed them. Unless a change is made, coming generations will be separated by active hatred and hostility. The condition of the Negro is indeed pitiful ; and his prospects for the future are dark and gloomy. There is no solution of the problem, unless it is dealt with from the standpoint of reason and experience, without prejudice or fanaticism.

The Negro is a child race. If isolated from the world and left to himself, he might slowly grow into manhood along separate lines and develop a Negro civilization ; but in the United States such isolation and such development are quite impossible. The Negro here is bound to be under the tutelage and control of the whites. No legal enactment, no political agitation, no scheme of education can alter this fact. It is better for the Negro that it should be so ; better that he should be dispersed among the white people, living

with them and learning their ways, than to be deported to Africa, or segregated somewhere in America, to work out slowly a separate and distinct Negro civilization.

The tutelage of the Negro is not yet complete. It lasted through six generations of slavery, directed by Southern whites. It has continued through one generation of freedom, directed by Northern whites, acting through Federal legislation, through Federal courts, through political, educational and religious missionaries working among the Negroes in the Southern states. The folly and the futility of Northern tutelage is now fully demonstrated; and the Negro is again under the tutelage of the South, to remain there until the race problem is finally settled.

The real question is not one of tutelage *versus* self-development, but whether the necessary tutelage of the Negro under the white race shall be one of friendship and sympathy or one of prejudice and hostility. To such a question only one answer is possible. It would be a cruelty greater than slavery to leave this helpless race, this child race, to work out its own salvation in fierce and hostile competition with the strongest and best developed race on the globe. The Negro can expect no peculiar development. He must aim at white civilization; and must reach it through the support, guidance and control of the white people among whom he lives. He must regain the active friendship and affection of the Southern whites. He will do so if let alone by the North. The South once liked him and loved him, and will do so again if he will permit and deserve it. The North, through force of arms and legal enactment, has given him physical freedom; but moral and intellectual freedom must come through the help of the descendants of his former masters. If this help be not given, there is no hope for the race. Against the prejudice and passion, the neglect and oppression, the competition and hostility which will inevitably result from a continuance of the relations now existing between the two races in the South the Negro

will be ground to powder. His progress depends absolutely upon the restoration of friendly relations to the whites. Nor is this a matter of easy accomplishment. Two things are requisite ;

1. The withdrawal of the Negro from politics.
2. His increased efficiency as a laborer.

The withdrawal of the Negro from politics is now being accomplished by legislation in the various Southern States. If this is interrupted by the North, and the old battle of Reconstruction fought again, the result will be the complete and final estrangement of the two races, with prejudice and hostility too intense to permit their living peaceably together.

Greater industrial efficiency would prove an everlasting bond between the races in the South. It is the real key to the problem. Let the Negro make himself indispensable as a workman, and he may rely upon the friendship and affection of the whites. But the best energies of the race since emancipation have been diverted from industrial fields into politics, preaching and education. Until recently its leaders have not regarded industrial effort as a means of progress. But public sentiment in the South still welcomes the Negro to every field of labor that he is capable of performing. The whole field of industry is open to him. The Southern whites are not troubled by his efficiency but by his inefficiency. For a full generation the Negro has had opportunity to control every industry in the South. Had he devoted himself, upon emancipation, to manual labor and the purchase of land instead of to politics, religion and education, he would own to-day at least one-half the soil of the Southern states.

There is abundant room for Northern philanthropy in helping to uplift the Southern Negro. A Hampton Institute, or a Tuskegee, should be established in every congressional district. But this alone will not suffice. The Negro laborer, like the white laborer, needs the industrial training of his

daily employer. He needs, daily and hourly, the sympathy, encouragement, instruction, admonition and restraint of his white employer. These are given to the white boy or girl ; and are received usually with willingness and profit. But such help is not given to the Negro ; nor is it desired. Negro children are less courteous to white people now than white children were to Negroes during slavery.

The Negro race is a child race and must remain in tutelage for years to come ; in tutelage not of colleges and universities, but of industrial schools, of skilled and efficient labor, of character building by honest work and honest dealing, of good habits and good manners, of respect for elders and superiors, of daily employment on the farm, in the household, the shop, the forest, the factory and the mine. Slavery gave the Negro a better industrial training than he has to-day. Freedom has increased his zeal and his opportunity, but diminished his skill. The door of his opportunity will not always be open. He must enter now. If he do not, he will remain for a while among the races of the earth a dull and stupid draught animal ; and finally will pass away, incompetent. But, with the help of the white race he may obtain opportunity to develop his powers, he may subdue his animal passions and cultivate his gentler emotions, may train his physical strength into skill and power, may grow from childhood into mature manhood ; and in the providence of God may yet add strength to the civilization of a people, who, through the tutelage of slavery, with sorrow and tears, with labor and anguish, with hope and charity brought him from barbarism to civilization, from heathenism to christianity.

The Relation of the Negroes to the Whites in the South

**By Professor W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Ph. D.,
Atlanta University**

THE RELATION OF THE NEGROES TO THE WHITES IN THE SOUTH.

By Professor W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS, PH. D.,
Atlanta University.

In the discussion of great social problems it is extremely difficult for those who are themselves actors in the drama to avoid the attitude of partisans and advocates. And yet I take it that the examination of the most serious of the race problems of America is not in the nature of a debate but rather a joint endeavor to seek the truth beneath a mass of assertion and opinion, of passion and distress. And I trust that whatever disagreement may arise between those who view the situation from opposite sides of the color line will be rather in the nature of additional information than of contradiction.

The world-old phenomenon of the contact of diverse races of men is to have new exemplification during the new century. Indeed the characteristic of the age is the contact of European civilization with the world's undeveloped peoples. Whatever we may say of the results of such contact in the past, it certainly forms a chapter in human action not pleasant to look back upon. War, murder, slavery, extermination and debauchery—this has again and again been the result of carrying civilization and the blessed gospel to the isles of the sea and the heathen without the law. Nor does it altogether satisfy the conscience of the modern world to be told complacently that all this has been right and proper, the fated triumph of strength over weakness, of righteousness over evil, of superiors over inferiors. It would certainly be soothing if one could readily believe all this, and yet there are too many ugly facts, for everything to be thus easily explained away. We feel and know that there are many delicate differences in race psychology,

numberless changes which our crude social measurements are not yet able to follow minutely, which explain much of history and social development. At the same time, too, we know that these considerations have never adequately explained or excused the triumph of brute force and cunning over weakness and innocence.

It is then the strife of all honorable men of the twentieth century to see that in the future competition of races, the survival of the fittest shall mean the triumph of the good, the beautiful and the true; that we may be able to preserve for future civilization all that is really fine and noble and strong, and not continue to put a premium on greed and impudence and cruelty. To bring this hope to fruition we are compelled daily to turn more and more to a conscientious study of the phenomena of race contact—to a study frank and fair, and not falsified and colored by our wishes or our fears. And we have here in the South as fine a field for such a study as the world affords: a field to be sure which the average American scientist deems somewhat beneath his dignity, and which the average man who is not a scientist knows all about, but nevertheless a line of study which by reason of the enormous race complications, with which God seems about to punish this nation, must increasingly claim our sober attention, study and thought. We must ask: What are the actual relations of whites and blacks in the South, and we must be answered not by apology or fault-finding, but by a plain, unvarnished tale.

In the civilized life of to-day the contact of men and their relations to each other fall in a few main lines of action and communication: there is first the physical proximity of homes and dwelling places, the way in which neighborhoods group themselves, and the contiguity of neighborhoods. Secondly, and in our age chiefest, there are the economic relations—the methods by which individuals co-operate for earning a living, for the mutual satisfaction of wants, for the production of wealth. Next there are the political

relations, the co-operation in social control, in group government, in laying and paying the burden of taxation. In the fourth place there are the less tangible but highly important forms of intellectual contact and commerce, the interchange of ideas through conversation and conference, through periodicals and libraries, and above all the gradual formation for each community of that curious *tertium quid* which we call public opinion. Closely allied with this come the various forms of social contact in every-day life, in travel, in theatres, in house gatherings, in marrying and giving in marriage. Finally, there are the varying forms of religious enterprise, of moral teaching and benevolent endeavor.

These are the principal ways in which men living in the same communities are brought into contact with each other. It is my task this afternoon, therefore, to point out from my point of view how the black race in the South meets and mingles with the whites, in these matters of every-day life.

First as to physical dwelling, it is usually possible, as most of you know, to draw in nearly every Southern community a physical color line on the map, to the one side of which whites dwell and the other Negroes. The winding and intricacy of the geographical color line varies of course in different communities. I know some towns where a straight line drawn through the middle of the main street separates nine-tenths of the whites from nine-tenths of the blacks. In other towns the older settlement of whites has been encircled by a broad band of blacks; in still other cases little settlements or nuclei of blacks have sprung up amid surrounding whites. Usually in cities each street has its distinctive color, and only now and then do the colors meet in close proximity. Even in the country something of this segregation is manifest in the smaller areas, and of course in the larger phenomena of the black belt.

All this segregation by color is largely independent of that natural clustering by social grades common to all commu-

nities. A Negro slum may be in dangerous proximity to a white residence quarter, while it is quite common to find a white slum planted in the heart of a respectable Negro district. One thing, however, seldom occurs: the best of the whites and the best of the negroes almost never live in anything like close proximity. It thus happens that in nearly every Southern town and city, both whites and blacks see commonly the worst of each other. This is a vast change from the situation in the past when through the close contact of master and house-servant in the patriarchal big house, one found the best of both races in close contact and sympathy, while at the same time the squalor and dull round of toil among the field hands was removed from the sight and hearing of the family. One can easily see how a person who saw slavery thus from his father's parlors and sees freedom on the streets of a great city fails to grasp or comprehend the whole of the new picture. On the other hand the settled belief of the mass of the Negroes that the Southern white people do not have the black man's best interests at heart has been intensified in later years by this continual daily contact of the better class of blacks with the worst representatives of the white race.

Coming now to the economic relations of the races we are on ground made familiar by study, much discussion and no little philanthropic effort. And yet with all this there are many essential elements in the co-operation of Negroes and whites for work and wealth, that are too readily overlooked or not thoroughly understood. The average American can easily conceive of a rich land awaiting development and filled with black laborers. To him the Southern problem is simply that of making efficient workingmen out of this material by giving them the requisite technical skill and the help of invested capital. The problem, however, is by no means as simple as this, from the obvious fact that these workingmen have been trained for centuries as slaves. They exhibit, therefore, all the advantages and defects of such

training ; they are willing and good-natured, but not self-reliant, provident or careful. If now the economic development of the South is to be pushed to the verge of exploitation, as seems probable, then you have a mass of workingmen thrown into relentless competition with the workingmen of the world but handicapped by a training the very opposite to that of the modern self-reliant democratic laborer. What the black laborer needs is careful personal guidance, group leadership of men with hearts in their bosoms, to train them to foresight, carefulness and honesty. Nor does it require any fine-spun theories of racial differences to prove the necessity of such group training after the brains of the race have been knocked out by two hundred and fifty years of assiduous education in submission, carelessness and stealing. After emancipation it was the plain duty of some one to assume this group leadership and training of the Negro laborer. I will not stop here to inquire *whose* duty it was—whether that of the white ex-master who had profited by unpaid toil, or the Northern philanthropist whose persistence brought the crisis, or of the National Government whose edict freed the bondsmen—I will not stop to ask *whose* duty it was, but I insist it was the duty of *some one* to see that these workingmen were not left alone and unguided without capital, landless, without skill, without economic organization, without even the bald protection of law, order and decency ; left in a great land not to settle down to slow and careful internal development, but destined to be thrown almost immediately into relentless, sharp competition with the best of modern workingmen under an economic system where every participant is fighting for himself, and too often utterly regardless of the rights or welfare of his neighbor.

For we must never forget that the economic system of the South to-day which has succeeded the old régime is not the same system as that of the old industrial North, of England or of France with their trades unions, their restrictive laws, their written and unwritten commercial customs and their

long experience. It is rather a copy of that England of the early nineteenth century, before the factory acts, the England that wrung pity from thinkers and fired the wrath of Carlyle. The rod of empire that passed from the hands of Southern gentlemen in 1865, partly by force, partly by their own petulance, has never returned to them. Rather it has passed to those men who have come to take charge of the industrial exploitation of the New South—the sons of poor whites fired with a new thirst for wealth and power, thrifty and avaricious Yankees, shrewd and unscrupulous Jews. Into the hands of these men the Southern laborers, white and black, have fallen, and this to their sorrow. For the laborers as such there is in these new captains of industry neither love nor hate, neither sympathy nor romance—it is a cold question of dollars and dividends. Under such a system all labor is bound to suffer. Even the white laborers are not yet intelligent, thrifty and well trained enough to maintain themselves against the powerful inroads of organized capital. The result among them even, is long hours of toil, low wages, child labor, and lack of protection against usury and cheating. But among the black laborers all this is aggravated, first, by a race prejudice which varies from a doubt and distrust among the best element of whites to a frenzied hatred among the worst ; and, secondly, it is aggravated, as I have said before, by the wretched economic heritage of the freedmen from slavery. With this training it is difficult for the freedman to learn to grasp the opportunities already opened to him, and the new opportunities are seldom given him but go by favor to the whites.

Left by the best elements of the South with little protection or oversight, he has been made in law and custom the victim of the worst and most unscrupulous men in each community. The crop-lien system which is depopulating the fields of the South is not simply the result of shiftlessness on the part of Negroes but is also the result of cunningly devised laws as to mortgages, liens and misdemeanors which

can be made by conscienceless men to entrap and snare the unwary until escape is impossible, further toil a farce, and protest a crime. I have seen in the black belt of Georgia an ignorant, honest Negro buy and pay for a farm in installments three separate times, and then in the face of law and decency the enterprising Russian Jew who sold it to him pocketed money and deed and left the black man landless, to labor on his own land at thirty cents a day. I have seen a black farmer fall in debt to a white storekeeper and that storekeeper go to his farm and strip it of every single marketable article—mules, plows, stored crops, tools, furniture, bedding, clocks, looking-glass, and all this without a warrant, without process of law, without a sheriff or officer, in the face of the law for homestead exemptions, and without rendering to a single responsible person any account or reckoning. And such proceedings can happen and will happen in any community where a class of ignorant toilers are placed by custom and race prejudice beyond the pale of sympathy and race brotherhood. So long as the best elements of a community do not feel in duty bound to protect and train and care for the weaker members of their group they leave them to be preyed upon by these swindlers and rascals.

This unfortunate economic situation does not mean the hindrance of all advance in the black south, or the absence of a class of black landlords and mechanics who, in spite of disadvantages, are accumulating property and making good citizens. But it does mean that this class is not nearly so large as a fairer economic system might easily make it, that those who survive in the competition are handicapped so as to accomplish much less than they deserve to, and that above all, the personnel of the successful class is left to chance and accident, and not to any intelligent culling or reasonable methods of selection. As a remedy for this, there is but one possible procedure. We must accept some of the race prejudice in the South as a

fact—deplorable in its intensity, unfortunate in results, and dangerous for the future, but nevertheless a hard fact which only time can efface. We cannot hope then in this generation, or for several generations, that the mass of the whites can be brought to assume that close sympathetic and self-sacrificing leadership of the blacks which their present situation so eloquently demands. Such leadership, such social teaching and example, must come from the blacks themselves. For sometime men doubted as to whether the Negro could develop such leaders, but to-day no one seriously disputes the capability of individual Negroes to assimilate the culture and common sense of modern civilization, and to pass it on to some extent, at least, to their fellows. If this be true, then here is the path out of the economic situation, and here is the imperative demand for trained Negro leaders of character and intelligence, men of skill, men of light and leading, college-bred men, black captains of industry and missionaries of culture. Men who thoroughly comprehend and know modern civilization and can take hold of Negro communities and raise and train them by force of precept and example, deep sympathy and the inspiration of common blood and ideals. But if such men are to be effective they must have some power—they must be backed by the best public opinion of these communities, and able to wield for their objects and aims such weapons as the experience of the world has taught are indispensable to human progress,

Of such weapons the greatest, perhaps, in the modern world is the power of the ballot, and this brings me to a consideration of the third form of contact between whites and blacks in the South—political activity.

In the attitude of the American mind toward Negro suffrage, can be traced with singular accuracy the prevalent conceptions of government. In the sixties we were near enough the echoes of the French Revolution to believe pretty thoroughly in universal suffrage. We argued, as we

thought then rather logically, that no social class was so good, so true and so disinterested as to be trusted wholly with the political destiny of their neighbors ; that in every state the best arbiters of their own welfare are the persons directly affected, consequently it is only by arming every hand with a ballot—with the right to have a voice in the policy of the state—that the greatest good to the greatest number could be attained. To be sure there were objections to these arguments, but we thought we had answered them tersely and convincingly ; if some one complained of the ignorance of voters, we answered : “ Educate them.” If another complained of their venality we replied : “ Disfranchise them or put them in jail.” And finally to the men who feared demagogues and the natural perversity of some human beings, we insisted that time and bitter experience would teach the most hardheaded. It was at this time that the question of Negro suffrage in the South was raised. Here was a defenseless people suddenly made free. How were they to be protected from those who did not believe in their freedom and were determined to thwart it ? Not by force, said the North ; not by government guardianship, said the South ; then by the ballot, the sole and legitimate defense of a free people, said the Common Sense of the nation. No one thought at the time that the ex-slaves could use the ballot intelligently or very effectively, but they did think that the possession of so great power, by a great class in the nation would compel their fellows to educate this class to its intelligent use.

Meantime new thoughts came to the nation: the inevitable period of moral retrogression and political trickery that ever follows in the wake of war overtook us. So flagrant became the political scandals that reputable men began to leave politics alone, and politics consequently became disreputable. Men began to pride themselves on having nothing to do with their own government and to agree tacitly with those who regarded public office as a private perquisite. In this

state of mind it became easy to wink at the suppression of the Negro vote in the South, and to advise self-respecting Negroes to leave politics entirely alone. The decent and reputable citizens of the North who neglected their own civic duties grew hilarious over the exaggerated importance with which the Negro regarded the franchise. Thus it easily happened that more and more the better class of Negroes followed the advice from abroad and the pressure from home and took no further interest in politics, leaving to the careless and the venal of their race the exercise of their rights as voters. This black vote which still remained was not trained and educated but further debauched by open and unblushing bribery, or force and fraud, until the Negro voter was thoroughly inoculated with the idea that politics was a method of private gain by disreputable means.

And finally, now, to-day, when we are awakening to the fact that the perpetuity of republican institutions on this continent depends on the purification of the ballot, the civic training of voters, and the raising of voting to the plane of a solemn duty which a patriotic citizen neglects to his peril and to the peril of his children's children—in this day when we are striving for a renaissance of civic virtue, what are we going to say to the black voter of the South? Are we going to tell him still that politics is a disreputable and useless form of human activity? Are we going to induce the best class of Negroes to take less and less interest in government and give up their right to take such an interest without a protest? I am not saying a word against all legitimate efforts to purge the ballot of ignorance, pauperism and crime. But few have pretended that the present movement for disfranchisement in the South is for such a purpose; it has been plainly and frankly declared in nearly every case that the object of the disfranchising laws is the elimination of the black man from politics.

Now is this a minor matter which has no influence on the main question of the industrial and intellectual development

of the Negro? Can we establish a mass of black laborers, artisans and landholders in the South who by law and public opinion have absolutely no voice in shaping the laws under which they live and work. Can the modern organization of industry, assuming as it does free democratic government and the power and ability of the laboring classes to compel respect for their welfare—can this system be carried out in the South when half its laboring force is voiceless in the public councils and powerless in its own defense? To-day the black man of the South has almost nothing to say as to how much he shall be taxed, or how those taxes shall be expended ; as to who shall execute the laws and how they shall do it ; as to who shall make the laws and how they shall be made. It is pitiable that frantic efforts must be made at critical times to get lawmakers in some states even to listen to the respectful presentation of the black side of a current controversy. Daily the Negro is coming more and more to look upon law and justice not as protecting safeguards but as sources of humiliation and oppression. The laws are made by men who as yet have little interest in him ; they are executed by men who have absolutely no motive for treating the black people with courtesy or consideration, and finally the accused lawbreaker is tried not by his peers but too often by men who would rather punish ten innocent Negroes than let one guilty one escape.

I should be the last one to deny the patent weaknesses and shortcomings of the Negro people ; I should be the last to withhold sympathy from the white South in its efforts to solve its intricate social problems. I freely acknowledge that it is possible and sometimes best that a partially undeveloped people should be ruled by the best of their stronger and better neighbors for their own good, until such time as they can start and fight the world's battles alone. I have already pointed out how sorely in need of such economic and spiritual guidance the emancipated Negro was, and I am quite willing to admit that if the representatives of the

best white southern public opinion were the ruling and guiding powers in the South to-day that the conditions indicated would be fairly well fulfilled. But the point I have insisted upon and now emphasize again is that the best opinion of the South to-day is not the ruling opinion. That to leave the Negro helpless and without a ballot to-day is to leave him not to the guidance of the best but rather to the exploitation and debauchment of the worst; that this is no truer of the South than of the North—of the North than of Europe—in any land, in any country under modern free competition, to lay any class of weak and despised people, be they white, black or blue, at the political mercy of their stronger, richer and more resourceful fellows is a temptation which human nature seldom has and seldom will withstand.

Moreover the political status of the Negro in the South is closely connected with the question of Negro crime. There can be no doubt that crime among Negroes has greatly increased in the last twenty years and that there has appeared in the slums of great cities a distinct criminal class among the blacks. In explaining this unfortunate development we must note two things, (1) that the inevitable result of emancipation was to increase crime and criminals, and (2) that the police system of the South was primarily designed to control slaves. As to the first point we must not forget that under a strict slave régime there can scarcely be such a thing as crime. But when these variously constituted human particles are suddenly thrown broadcast on the sea of life, some swim, some sink, and some hang suspended, to be forced up or down by the chance currents of a busy hurrying world. So great an economic and social revolution as swept the South in '63 meant a weeding out among the Negroes of the incompetents and vicious—the beginning of a differentiation of social grades. Now a rising group of people are not lifted bodily from the ground like an inert solid mass, but rather stretch upward like a living plant with its roots still clinging in the mold. The appearance, therefore, of the Negro criminal was

a phenomenon to be awaited, and while it causes anxiety it should not occasion surprise.

Here again the hope for the future depended peculiarly on careful and delicate dealing with these criminals. Their offenses at first were those of laziness, carelessness and impulse rather than of malignity or ungoverned viciousness. Such misdemeanors needed discriminating treatment, firm but reformatory, with no hint of injustice and full proof of guilt. For such dealing with criminals, white or black, the South had no machinery, no adequate jails or reformatories and a police system arranged to deal with blacks alone, and which tacitly assumed that every white man was *ipso facto* a member of that police. Thus grew up a double system of justice which erred on the white side by undue leniency and the practical immunity of red-handed criminals, and erred on the black side by undue severity, injustice and lack of discrimination. For, as I have said, the police system of the South was originally designed to keep track of all Negroes, not simply of criminals, and when the Negroes were freed and the whole South was convinced of the impossibility of free Negro labor, the first and almost universal device was to use the courts as a means of re-enslaving the blacks. It was not then a question of crime but rather of color that settled a man's conviction on almost any charge. Thus Negroes came to look upon courts as instruments of injustice and oppression, and upon those convicted in them as martyrs and victims.

When now the real Negro criminal appeared and, instead of petty stealing and vagrancy, we began to have highway robbery, burglary, murder and rape, it had a curious effect on both sides the color line; the Negroes refused to believe the evidence of white witnesses or the fairness of white juries, so that the greatest deterrent to crime, the public opinion of one's own social caste was lost and the criminal still looked upon as crucified rather than hanged. On the other hand the whites, used to ~~being~~ careless as to the guilt or inno-

cence of accused Negroes, were swept in moments of passion beyond law, reason and decency. Such a situation is bound to increase crime and has increased it. To natural viciousness and vagrancy is being daily added motives of revolt and revenge which stir up all the latent savagery of both races and make peaceful attention to economic development often impossible.

But the chief problem in any community cursed with crime is not the punishment of the criminals but the preventing of the young from being trained to crime. And here again the peculiar conditions of the South have prevented proper precautions. I have seen twelve-year-old boys working in chains on the public streets of Atlanta, directly in front of the schools, in company with old and hardened criminals; and this indiscriminate mingling of men, women and children makes the chain-gangs perfect schools of crime and debauchery. The struggle for reformatories which has gone on in Virginia, Georgia and other states is the one encouraging sign of the awakening of some communities to the suicidal results of this policy.

It is the public schools, however, which can be made outside the homes the greatest means of training decent self-respecting citizens. We have been so hotly engaged recently in discussing trade schools and the higher education that the pitiable plight of the public school system in the South has almost dropped from view. Of every five dollars spent for public education in the State of Georgia the white schools get four dollars and the Negro one dollar, and even then the white public school system, save in the cities, is bad and cries for reform. If this be true of the whites, what of the blacks? I am becoming more and more convinced as I look upon the system of common school training in the South that the national government must soon step in and aid popular education in some way. To-day it has been only by the most strenuous efforts on the part of the thinking men of the South that the Negro's share of the school fund has not been cut

down to a pittance in some half dozen states, and that movement not only is not dead but in many communities is gaining strength. What in the name of reason does this nation expect of a people poorly trained and hard pressed in severe economic competition, without political rights and with ludicrously inadequate common school facilities? What can it expect but crime and listlessness, offset here and there by the dogged struggles of the fortunate and more determined who are themselves buoyed by the hope that in due time the country will come to its senses?

I have thus far sought to make clear the physical economic and political relations of the Negroes and whites in the South as I have conceived them, including for the reasons set forth, crime and education. But after all that has been said on these more tangible matters of human contact there still remains a part essential to a proper description of the South which it is difficult to describe or fix in terms easily understood by strangers. It is, in fine, the atmosphere of the land, the thought and feeling, the thousand and one little actions which go to make up life. In any community or nation it is these little things which are most elusive to the grasp and yet most essential to any clear conception of the group life, taken as a whole. What is thus true of all communities is peculiarly true of the South where, outside of written history and outside of printed law, there has been going on for a generation, as deep a storm and stress of human souls, as intense a ferment of feeling, as intricate a writhing of spirit as ever a people experienced. Within and without the sombre veil of color, vast social forces have been at work, efforts for human betterment, movements toward disintegration and despair, tragedies and comedies in social and economic life, and a swaying and lifting and sinking of human hearts which have made this land a land of mingled sorrow and joy, of change and excitement.

The centre of this spiritual turmoil has ever been the millions of black freedmen and their sons, whose destiny is

so fatefully bound up with that of the nation. And yet the casual observer visiting the South sees at first little of this. He notes the growing frequency of dark faces as he rides on, but otherwise the days slip lazily on, the sun shines and this little world seems as happy and contented as other worlds he has visited. Indeed, on the question of questions, the Negro problem, he hears so little that there almost seems to be a conspiracy of silence; the morning papers seldom mention it, and then usually in a far-fetched academic way, and indeed almost every one seems to forget and ignore the darker half of the land, until the astonished visitor is inclined to ask if after all there *is* any problem here. But if he lingers long enough there comes the awakening: perhaps in a sudden whirl of passion which leaves him gasping at its bitter intensity; more likely in a gradually dawning sense of things he had not at first noticed. Slowly but surely his eyes begin to catch the shadows of the color line; here he meets crowds of Negroes and whites; then he is suddenly aware that he cannot discover a single dark face; or again at the close of a day's wandering he may find himself in some strange assembly, where all faces are tinged brown or black, and where he has the vague uncomfortable feeling of the stranger. He realizes at last that silently, resistlessly, the world about flows by him in two great streams. They ripple on in the same sunshine, they approach here and mingle their waters in seeming carelessness, they divide then and flow wide apart. It is done quietly, no mistakes are made, or if one occurs the swift arm of the law and public opinion swings down for a moment, as when the other day a black man and a white woman were arrested for talking together on Whitehall street, in Atlanta.

Now if one notices carefully one will see that between these two worlds, despite much physical contact and daily intermingling, there is almost no community of intellectual life or points of transference where the thoughts and feelings of one race can come with direct contact and sympathy with

the thoughts and feelings of the other. Before and directly after the war when all the best of the Negroes were domestic servants in the best of the white families, there were bonds of intimacy, affection, and sometimes blood relationship between the races. They lived in the same home, shared in the family life, attended the same church often and talked and conversed with each other. But the increasing civilization of the Negro since has naturally meant the development of higher classes: there are increasing numbers of ministers, teachers, physicians, merchants, mechanics and independent farmers, who by nature and training are the aristocracy and leaders of the blacks. Between them, however, and the best element of the whites, there is little or no intellectual commerce. They go to separate churches, they live in separate sections, they are strictly separated in all public gatherings, they travel separately, and they are beginning to read different papers and books. To most libraries, lectures, concerts and museums Negroes are either not admitted at all or on terms peculiarly galling to the pride of the very classes who might otherwise be attracted. The daily paper chronicles the doings of the black world from afar with no great regard for accuracy; and so on throughout the category of means for intellectual communication; schools, conferences, efforts for social betterment and the like, it is usually true that the very representatives of the two races who for mutual benefit and the welfare of the land ought to be in complete understanding and sympathy are so far strangers that one side thinks all whites are narrow and prejudiced and the other thinks educated Negroes dangerous and insolent. Moreover, in a land where the tyranny of public opinion and the intolerance of criticism is for obvious historical reasons so strong as in the South, such a situation is extremely difficult to correct. The white man as well as the Negro is bound and tied by the color line and many a scheme of friendliness and philanthropy, of broad-minded sympathy, and generous fellowship between the two has

dropped still-born because some busy-body has forced the color question to the front and brought the tremendous force of unwritten law against the innovators.

It is hardly necessary for me to add to this very much in regard to the social contact between the races. Nothing has come to replace that finer sympathy and love between some masters and house servants, which the radical and more uncompromising drawing of the color line in recent years has caused almost completely to disappear. In a world where it means so much to take a man by the hand and sit beside him ; to look frankly into his eyes and feel his heart beating with red blood—in a world where a social cigar or a cup of tea together means more than legislative halls and magazine articles and speeches, one can imagine the consequences of the almost utter absence of such social amenities between estranged races, whose separation extends even to parks and street cars.

Here there can be none of that social going down to the people ; the opening of heart and hand of the best to the worst, in generous acknowledgment of a common humanity and a common destiny. On the other hand, in matters of simple almsgiving, where there be no question of social contact, and in the succor of the aged and sick, the South, as if stirred by a feeling of its unfortunate limitations, is generous to a fault. The black beggar is never turned away without a good deal more than a crust, and a call for help for the unfortunate meets quick response. I remember, one cold winter, in Atlanta, when I refrained from contributing to a public relief fund lest Negroes should be discriminated against ; I afterward inquired of a friend : " Were any black people receiving aid ? " " Why," said he, " they were *all* black."

And yet this does not touch the kernel of the problem. Human advancement is not a mere question of almsgiving, but rather of sympathy and co-operation among classes who would scorn charity. And here is a land where, in the higher walks of life, in all the higher striving for the good

and noble and true, the color line comes to separate natural friends and co-workers, while at the bottom of the social group in the saloon, the gambling hell and the bawdy-house that same line wavers and disappears.

I have sought to paint an average picture of real relations between the races in the South. I have not glossed over matters for policy's sake, for I fear we have already gone too far in that sort of thing. On the other hand I have sincerely sought to let no unfair exaggerations creep in. I do not doubt but that in some Southern communities conditions are far better than those I have indicated. On the other hand, I am certain that in other communities they are far worse.

Nor does the paradox and danger of this situation fail to interest and perplex the best conscience of the South. Deeply religious and intensely democratic as are the mass of the whites, they feel acutely the false position in which the Negro problems place them. Such an essentially honest-hearted and generous people cannot cite the caste-leveling precepts of Christianity, or believe in equality of opportunity for all men, without coming to feel more and more with each generation that the present drawing of the color line is a flat contradiction to their beliefs and professions. But just as often as they come to this point the present social condition of the Negro stands as a menace and a portent before even the most open-minded: if there were nothing to charge against the Negro but his blackness or other physical peculiarities, they argue, the problem would be comparatively simple; but what can we say to his ignorance, shiftlessness, poverty and crime: can a self-respecting group hold anything but the least possible fellowship with such persons and survive? and shall we let a mawkish sentiment sweep away the culture of our fathers or the hope of our children? The argument so put is of great strength but it is not a whit stronger than the argument of thinking Negroes; granted, they reply, that the condition of our masses is bad, there is certainly on the one hand adequate

historical cause for this, and unmistakable evidence that no small number have, in spite of tremendous disadvantages, risen to the level of American civilization. And when by proscription and prejudice, these same Negroes are classed with, and treated like the lowest of their people simply *because* they are Negroes, such a policy not only discourages thrift and intelligence among black men, but puts a direct premium on the very things you complain of—inefficiency and crime. Draw lines of crime, of incompetency, of vice as tightly and uncompromisingly as you will, for these things must be proscribed, but a color line not only does not accomplish this purpose, but thwarts it.

In the face of two such arguments, the future of the South depends on the ability of the representatives of these opposing views to see and appreciate, and sympathize with each other's position ; for the Negro to realize more deeply than he does at present the need of uplifting the masses of his people, for the white people to realize more vividly than they have yet done the deadening and disastrous effect of a color prejudice that classes Paul Lawrence Dunbar and Sam Hose in the same despised class.

It is not enough for the Negroes to declare that color prejudice is the sole cause of their social condition, nor for the white South to reply that their social condition is the main cause of prejudice. They both act as reciprocal cause and effect and a change in neither *alone* will bring the desired effect. Both must change or neither can improve to any great extent. The Negro cannot stand the present reactionary tendencies and unreasoning drawing of the color line much longer without discouragement and retrogression. And the condition of the Negro is ever the excuse for further discrimination. Only by a union of intelligence and sympathy across the color line in this critical period of the Republic shall justice and right triumph, and

“ Mind and heart according well,
Shall make one music as before,
But vaster.”

IV. The Races of the West Indies

Our Relation to the People of Cuba and Porto Rico

**By Hon. Orville H. Platt, United States Senator from
Connecticut**

OUR RELATION TO THE PEOPLE OF CUBA AND PORTO RICO.

By Hon. ORVILLE H. PLATT,
United States Senator from Connecticut.

We have undertaken the solution of a very difficult problem in Cuba. When we went to war with Spain we declared that the people of Cuba ought to be free and independent, and we therefore disclaimed any purpose to acquire the island, and promised that when its pacification should be accomplished we would leave it to its people. To this declaration and promise we are solemnly pledged as a nation. Reduced to its simplest terms our pledge is this: that the United States becomes responsible for the establishment and orderly continuance of republican government in Cuba. If, as some seem to suppose, the full performance of our obligation only requires us to see that a so-called republic is organized there, the task is comparatively easy, but if we are also bound to provide for the orderly continuance of a genuine republic it is by no means easy. That the latter duty is as imperative as the former, can scarcely be questioned. Indeed, it seems to be questioned only in a technical way. Certain self-constituted and virulent critics try to maintain that our promise to leave the island to its people as soon as it should be pacified meant that when we should have driven out Spain we would ourselves retire and have nothing further to do with its affairs, either by way of guiding the Cubans in the establishment of their government, or assisting them to maintain their independence.

In other words, it seems to be supposed by these carping people that the United States has no interests to protect in the Island of Cuba and that no matter what its people may do, we are only to look on. But even these critics admit

that if conditions under the new government shall become intolerable, intervention will again be justifiable and imperative. They would have us at once terminate our military occupation leaving the future uncared for with the expectation that, should troubles arise there, either by reason of foreign demands or internal disorders, by which our interests are imperiled, we will return in force to set matters right again. It seems scarcely possible that such a policy should find advocates in any quarter. Unless we provide now for continued independence and peace in the Island of Cuba there is no way in which they can be assured unless, in case the necessity arises, we declare war and enter upon the business of subjugating and annexing it. It must be seen by all who have the real welfare of our country at heart that our only true policy is to see that a republican government is now established under conditions which recognize our right to maintain its stability and prosperity. Cuba has menaced our peace quite too long, and having once undertaken to remedy an intolerable condition there it would be inexcusable folly to ignore the possibility and indeed probability of future trouble, or to fail to guard against its recurrence.

All rights acquired by the act of intervention exist except so far as they are limited by the resolution of Congress, and the only limitation imposed by that legislation rightly construed is that we will not claim Cuba as a part of the United States. We took temporary possession of the island with a self-imposed trust which requires us to allow its people to establish a free and independent government, and also to assist in its maintenance as an orderly, stable, and beneficent one. The difficulty of the situation arises from the fact that it would be improper for the United States to dictate the provisions of the constitution which is to be the basis of the new government, except to an extent necessary for its own self-protection, and the discharge of obligations growing out of its intervention. We have a right to insist that there shall be provisions in the constitution of Cuba, or

attached to it by way of an ordinance, which will clearly define the relations which are to exist between the two countries, but all matters relating to the system and detail of government should be left to the people of Cuba alone. For instance, although we may feel that universal suffrage will result in trouble and difficulty, we manifestly have no right to prescribe the elective franchise.

The framework of government must be left by us to the constitutional convention without dictation or mandatory suggestion. So far as the rights of the people are concerned they must be left absolutely free to declare them. So far as our rights are concerned, we may insist on their recognition without in any way impairing or interfering with the independence of Cuba. The war with Spain was undertaken to put an end to intolerable conditions not only shocking to humanity, but menacing our welfare, and our work was but half done when the authority of Spain was destroyed. We became responsible to the people of Cuba, to ourselves, and the world at large, that a good government should be established and maintained in place of the bad one to which we put an end. The practical question then is, in what way can the United States provide for a government in Cuba which shall not only secure the blessings of liberty there in their full exercise, but shall also secure to the United States the results of good government in a country so closely adjoining us?

The right to intervene for the abolition of a bad government, and the right to intervene for the maintenance of a good government in Cuba, rest upon the same foundation. It is as much our duty to exercise our power in the maintenance of an independent, stable and peaceful government there as it was to exercise it in the destruction of a monarchical, oppressive and inhuman one. Duty and self-interest coincide in this respect. The extension of the principles and institutions of free government, wherever possible and practicable, is no less our duty than the protection of our

own citizens in all their rights and interests in a foreign country. By every consideration, then, which can bind a nation, we are committed and pledged to the policy of permitting the people of Cuba to establish, for and by themselves, a republican government for the continuance and maintenance of which we are to be responsible.

If the element of our responsibility were eliminated from the problem, it would be quite safe to say that the experiment of free government has never been attempted in the world under circumstances less favorable to permanent success. To insure the success of free government, certain conditions seem indispensable. There must be a homogeneous people possessed of a high degree of virtue and intelligence. A sentimental longing for liberty will not of itself insure the maintenance of a republic. Liberty is a word of quite elastic meaning. License is not true liberty. It is orderly liberty only which constitutes the sure basis of free government. That government only is really free and independent where liberty is restrained and buttressed by law, and where the supposed rights of the individual are limited by the rights of all. To establish such liberty there must be an intelligent understanding of the social system and a comprehension of the just principles upon which true government must always rest. The consent of the governed must be an intelligent consent. Where the capacity to consent does not exist, no government can be permanently maintained upon such consent. Where a majority of voters neither understand nor respect the true principles of government, there may be a republic in name, but in fact it will only be a dictatorship, in which the purpose and power of its president control rather than the consent of the governed.

Social, racial and economic conditions in Cuba do not at first sight promise well for the permanence of republican government. In passing, we must remember the fact that none of its people have had any experience in self-government, and the further fact that all their notions of govern-

ment have been framed and moulded by the history and administration of one of the most arbitrary and corrupt the world has ever known. The lines which mark the division of classes are most distinctly drawn, and the interests of the different classes are most diverse.

The census of Cuba recently taken fails to give us statistics in many important particulars. It informs us as to the proportion of the white and colored population, and of the native and foreign born. It shows that the number engaged in gainful occupations is somewhat larger comparatively than in the United States, but it fails to give us any statistics as to property and wealth.

Cuba is essentially an agricultural state. Its soil is very fertile and its climate is such that a failure of crops is seldom known. It has hitherto had the disadvantage that its agriculture industry was mainly concentrated in the production of two crops only, sugar and tobacco. While there is opportunity for great diversification of agriculture, the profits arising from sugar and tobacco have been such that other products have been neglected. The foreign trade of the island, exports and imports combined, has amounted to \$100,000,000 annually, and when we reflect that this foreign trade is from an island containing only a million and half of people, it is easy to see how profitable these two products have been under favorable conditions. As a result of these industries, there was, before the war with Spain, great wealth in Cuba. The distinction made between Spaniards and Cubans is simply that of birthplace, persons born in Spain being classed as Spaniards, and all persons born in Cuba, being classed as Cubans.

The Spaniards are the wealthy class. They are commercial people. They carry on trade and business, loan money, but do not as a class acquire landed property. They are merchants, bankers, traders, money lenders; they have all the commercial instincts and characteristics of the Jew, derived perhaps from the Jewish population of Spain in

former times. The proportion of Spaniards to the entire population is small—130,000 only in round numbers, at the time of taking the census, out of a total population of 1,600,000, were Spaniards. About sixty per cent of this number, under the treaty of Paris, retained their allegiance to Spain. The proportion of adult males among Spaniards is very much greater than that of any other class of the population, 86,000 out of 130,000 being males over twenty-one years of age. Most of the ready money of the island is controlled by these Spaniards.

The land of Cuba is owned, generally speaking, by white Cubans. The number of land-owners in proportion to the population is not given, but their number is comparatively small. Considerable quantities of land are owned by persons residing in Spain and other countries, but the cultivated part of the island has been owned very largely by these Cuban planters. In recent times, some Americans and other foreigners have acquired estates, but the percentage of land thus held is small. It may then be said that the wealth and property of the island is concentrated in the hands of the Spaniards and a comparatively few white Cubans. Small holdings by persons cultivating land, as in the United States, are practically unknown in Cuba. The larger proportion of the inhabitants, both white and colored, are not property-holders and have no direct interest in the soil or in the business of the island.

The classes controlling wealth and property took little or no part in the revolution. The Spaniards, of course, were loyal to Spain, and most of the Cuban land-owners tried to preserve their neutrality as between the revolutionists and the Spanish government, often paying tribute to both sides in the hope of saving their estates from destruction. There is little sympathy between the wealthy and land-owning classes in Cuba and the great bulk of its population. The active revolutionary element consisted of white Cubans, who, as has been said, have little or no property interests

at stake ; they were the officers of the insurgent forces ; the mulattoes constituted the rank and file, or fighting element of the revolution.

Naturally the conservative and property-holding class, and the radical and revolutionary class, thoroughly distrust each other. Property owners think property will not be safe if the revolutionary element shall be in control, and the radicals think that the property-owning and business element secretly favors annexation, in which it is encouraged by the United States. For this reason principally the radical leaders exhibit symptoms of hostility toward us. Those who own property in Cuba do look to the United States for protection; quite likely they are annexationists at heart. While there is little or no annexation sentiment in the United States, it is almost impossible to convince Cubans of that fact. The radicals think that we are not sincere when we tell them that annexation is the last thing desired by the United States, and the conservatives hope that in the end events may necessitate annexation.

If the present Cuban leaders can be brought to understand and realize that the United States is as much opposed to annexation as they are, fully sympathizes with them in their desire for independence and has no intention of limiting or impairing that independence, their objection to the propositions submitted to them by Congress, defining our future relations, will doubtless be modified. Cuban property owners felt the oppression of Spain but feared a government which would be established if the revolutionists succeeded, quite as much as they did the Spanish government. Such fear still continues, and as they are in a minority, they have hitherto refrained from any participation in the effort to establish a new government, confidently expecting the United States to protect them in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property.

Politically, the people may be divided into five classes. First, Spaniards, including both those who have retained

their Spanish allegiance and those who have become Cuban citizens; second, Autonomists, or white Cubans, who remained loyal during the war and undertook the task of organizing government under the autonomy at last conceded by Spain; third, white Cubans, who tried to preserve their neutrality; fourth, white Cuban revolutionists; and fifth, the colored class, a large proportion of which participated in the revolution. Between these different classes there is little of sympathy, much of distrust. Even the Spaniards and the Autonomists do not affiliate, and at present there seems little prospect that there can be any political union among those who may be called the conservative people of Cuba. Their interests would lead them to unite, but their prejudices and suspicions forbid.

There remains, then, the larger proportion of Cuban citizens who may be classed as radical revolutionists. In the United States they would be called agitators. Delegates representing this class of the population appear to be in control of the Cuban constitutional convention. They seem to feel that by reason of the fact that they were revolutionists they alone are entitled to take part in the establishment and management of a new government.

They have very imperfect ideas of the practical duties or responsibilities of a free government, but are intensely devoted to liberty as they understand it. Instead of being grateful to the United States for the part it took in the liberation of Cuba, they appear to cherish a spirit of hostility towards us because they have not already been put in actual possession of the government. Under the military government of the island they have held and still hold nearly all of the civil offices, but recognize very little obligation to that government. One thing must be understood. Every Cuban, whether a revolutionist or otherwise, is essentially Spanish in all his traits and characteristics. There are as yet no well-defined political parties in Cuba. The conservatives have not been able to affiliate sufficiently to organize a

conservative party, and party divisions among the revolutionists are not based upon different policies or principles, but rather upon individual leadership. The social and economic conditions, thus briefly outlined, do not on their face promise much for permanence of republican government, but as time progresses, necessity and mutual interest may wear away prejudices and distrust, and permit something like united effort by the more conservative classes.

In addition to the difficulties enumerated, there is the inevitable race problem. There is not as yet a race issue in Cuban politics. Whether there will be, time only can determine. Prejudice on account of color is either less than in the United States or of a different quality. Certainly neither blacks nor mixed bloods are regarded as inferiors to the same extent as with us, and in the matter of social distinction color plays but a comparatively unimportant part. White and colored laborers work side by side without friction or contention. Maceo was honored and esteemed as perhaps the ablest revolutionary general, and Gualberto Gomez is regarded as one of the ablest delegates in the constitutional convention. Universal suffrage was adopted in the proposed constitution without a suggestion and presumably without a thought that a colored man was not as much entitled to be a voter as a white man.

The colored people, including blacks and mixed bloods, constitute about one-third of the population of Cuba. In some of the provinces like Santiago and Matanzas, the proportion is much larger; in Santiago forty-five per cent, in Matanzas forty per cent, while in some of the provinces it is comparatively small, in Puerto Principe only twenty per cent. It is an illiterate population. Only twenty-eight per cent of the colored population of the island can read. True, the white population is also illiterate, only forty-nine per cent of which can read. These facts are very suggestive when we consider the possibility of maintaining a republican government. In the ascertainment of these statistics of

illiteracy it is assumed that all children under ten years of age attending school can read, so that the proportion of adult males who can read will be somewhat less than indicated.

The colored population of Cuba differs essentially from that in the United States, or in the other West India Islands. The number of pure blacks is not given in the census. The proportion is small. In appearance they differ essentially from the negro of the United States. They are absolutely black, but their features are more European in cast. They are not thick-lipped, and, except for color, would be taken as splendid physical types of the Caucasian race. How this physical difference is to be accounted for we can only conjecture by assuming that the slaves imported into Cuba came from different sections of Africa than those imported into the United States. The blacks in Cuba appear to be of a superior type as to capacity and efficiency, but the mulatto compares less favorably with the mulatto in the United States. This is accounted for probably both by blood and environment. Mulattoes in the United States are a mixture of the Anglo-Saxon and negro ; in Cuba, of the Spaniard and negro. The negro imitates the whites with whom he is brought up, so in the United States he imitates the character of the Anglo-Saxon ; in Cuba, the character of the Spaniard.

In the United States he therefore naturally aspires to participate in government ; in Cuba he seems to have very little such aspiration. He is industrious, docile, quiet, and cares for little beyond his immediate domestic and industrial surroundings. The colored voter in Cuba is not likely to be a disturbing political element, unless under a sense of wrong and injustice his emotions are excited, then, indeed, he becomes a good fighter, as was proved in the late revolution. He may possibly be influenced by the agitator and demagogue, but it will require a very deep realization of injustice to make him a dangerous factor in the politics of the island. That he will vote intelligently can scarcely be expected. His vote may aid in putting dangerous men in power, but he will

not greatly interest himself in the affairs of the government.

The colored population of Cuba presents a most interesting sociological problem. The admixture of blood in his veins exceeds, perhaps, that of the mulatto in any other part of the world. The Spaniard himself is the result of an admixture of blood running through centuries, and the difference in appearance of Spaniards in Cuba is so great that the type is hardly perceptible. The race problem, as it appears in the white Cuban population, is quite as interesting as when confined to the colored population. The Spaniards in Cuba have come from the different sections of Spain, and the same is true of the ancestors of the white Cubans. Spaniards differ in appearance and characteristics more than the inhabitants of almost any other country. The history of Spain for a thousand years was that of conquest, of colonization and assimilation of its native people with its conquerors and colonies. Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, Goths, Moors and Jews successively occupied Spain, and with the exception of the Jews controlled its government and amalgamated with its people. Its different provinces have developed different types of manhood, and Cuba has received its immigration from every province. Its generals, officials, nobility, soldiery and its peasantry alike peopled Cuba. In the veins of the Cuban mulatto it is thus possible that there runs an infinitesimal current of the blood of Phœnician, Greek, Roman, Gothic and Moorish ancestors transmitted through its Spanish progenitors. We are ourselves becoming a very mixed population, and yet hardly more so than the population of Cuba which we have been wont to call Spanish.

It will be seen, therefore, that the different classes of Cuban population have little in common, except a desire for liberty, as yet scarcely understood, and a pride of country. Whether these two common ties will be strong enough to insure an orderly, well-balanced, peaceful government remains to be seen. The elements of discord are in full play now, and if

these alone were regarded the outlook would not be very hopeful. It is by no means certain, however, that the colored citizens in Cuba may not in the end ally themselves with the conservative rather than with the revolutionary and turbulent forces. A hopeful indication of this is found in the fact that in the province of Santiago, where the colored element is numerically stronger than in any other province, delegates in the convention have been instructed at mass meetings called for that purpose to accept the amendment proposed at the recent session of Congress.

The results of education will not be immediately manifest, but perhaps the most hopeful sign of responsible and permanent government in Cuba is to be seen in the educational work already begun there. If the next few years can be tided over successfully, intelligence will doubtless come to the rescue. At present there is discord, ignorance, and, among the masses of the people, indifference. We must hope that prejudice and suspicion between those who have most at stake will be allayed, that the intelligent and conservative element will more and more assert itself, and that the great need of Cuba for independence, peace and prosperity will unite a majority of its people to labor for that end.

But the real hope for a free Cuba is to be found in the friendly advice and guidance, and, if necessary, the assistance of the United States. There will be no American colonization there in the strict sense of the word. That American capital will go there as soon as there is a government under which its safety is assured, there is no question; that our American laborers will go there to any considerable extent is improbable, not that climatic conditions are such that it is impossible for them to work and live there, but that industrial conditions will not, for a long time at least, be such as to furnish inducements to the American who desires to support himself by his own labor to emigrate to Cuba. The island may easily support a population of five millions, or, as many think, a much larger number; but the question of

its increase of population depends largely upon where its laborers are to come from.

There is little prospect that the colored race will increase proportionately from natural causes. The labor required to fully develop its agricultural industries must come from abroad. The American negro is no more likely to go there than the white laborer of the United States. Industrially, then, as well as politically, the future of Cuba depends largely upon its immigration, which at present comes from Northern Spain and the Canary Islands. These immigrants, amounting to 40,000 or more last year, are still Spaniards, but may be classified as Spanish peasantry. They seem adapted to the climate, and the wages which they can command far exceed what they can obtain in their home country. They are industrious, peaceable and domestic—in a word, calculated to make good citizens. If properly treated by the capitalists who employ them, they are liable to constitute not only a stable, but an influential part of the population. Four things, then, seem to promise good results: The guidance and aid of the United States, the education of Cuban children, the probable conservatism of the colored population, and the industrial and peaceful character of probable immigrants. The revolutionary class will not at once abandon the idea that they alone are entitled to govern, and there will doubtless be more or less friction, contention and disturbance, but as time wears on, it is to be hoped that out of confusion order may come.

The hands of the United States are indeed partially tied. There is a limit beyond which it may not go, and yet within the legitimate limits which it has prescribed for itself it can do much. It may not interfere with the liberty of the people of Cuba to establish an independent government, republican in form and fact; it may, and must, for its own protection, and in the discharge of obligations from which it cannot escape if it would, see to it that the independence of Cuba shall not be overthrown, no matter from what quarter it may

be assailed, and that life, property and individual rights shall be as secure there as in the United States.

That the relations which are to exist between the United States and the new government of Cuba must be closer than those between us and any other foreign country will be apparent to the dullest comprehension. So long as any doubt exists of the ability of Cuba to stand alone, the United States must be ready to support her. We must protect her against any demands which will impair her independence, and against any internal dissensions which may threaten the overthrow of republican government. In thus standing ready, and insisting upon our right to protect Cuba, we do not at all contemplate the establishment of a protectorate in any sense in which that term has been used in international law. Our relations with Cuba will be unique. We may best express them by saying that we claim the right to be recognized as the guarantor of Cuban independence and of the stability of its government. To require less than this would be an abandonment of both self-interest and duty.

We propose to leave Cuba free to make treaties with foreign powers not inconsistent with her independence; to enact all legislation which a free and independent government may enact, to manage her own affairs in her own way, provided only that she does not thereby imperil her own safety and our peace. And yet our right to intervene to save Cuba even from herself must be recognized. We cannot permit any foreign power to obtain a foothold in Cuba. We cannot permit disturbances there which threaten the overthrow of her government. We cannot tolerate a condition in which life and property shall be insecure. In all this our position is that of unselfishness. We do not seek our own aggrandisement; we do not ask reimbursement for the lives and treasure spent in the effort to secure the blessings of liberty and free government to Cuba.

We have undertaken to do for her people what no nation in all history has ever undertaken to do for another, namely,

to overthrow an inhuman and iniquitous government in order that a just, humane and beneficent government may be established and maintained in its stead. Half of our work is accomplished, half of it remains to be done. We have no doubt that the remaining half of our duty will be performed in the same spirit and with the same unselfishness which has characterized our work from its commencement. Having put our hand to the plow, we may not, and will not, look back. It is a great and glorious work which we have undertaken. The difficulties and intricacies which confront us should only stimulate us to a more conscientious performance of duty. In spite of all discouragement we look for a free and regenerated Cuba, for which we may with self-respect and even pride stand sponsor.

The Spanish Population of Cuba and Porto Rico

By Mr. Charles M. Pepper, Washington, D. C.

THE SPANISH POPULATION OF CUBA AND PORTO RICO.

By MR. CHARLES M. PEPPER,
Of Washington, D. C.

In any discussion of the natives of Cuba and Porto Rico, it is not possible entirely to separate the Latin from the African race. They exist together in those Islands and their future is woven together inseparably. Each race has kept its own identity, yet there has been a reciprocal or a mutual influence. The African has benefited by the tolerance and kindlier consideration, the less pronounced antipathy, of the Spaniard as compared with the Anglo-Saxon. Conversely the Negro has had a steadying influence, if I may so call it, on the Spaniard. I do not mean to say that this has been the result of racial intermixture, but rather that the Negro living side by side with the Latin race has modified the Latin temperament.

It is well to have this knowledge at the outset as it also is well to recognize the status of the Negro. That the advance which has been made may be lost by a disproportionate growth of black population is the spectre of a brooding imagination. Porto Rico has no room for newcomers of the laboring class. The present-day problem there is to find an outlet for an overcrowded population. Cuba can support six times the existing number of inhabitants, but economic and political causes have combined to discourage schemes of Negro colonization, while white immigration from Spain has been in progress for the last two years and is certain to continue. With a perception of these facts it is not necessary to controvert the presumption of the Caucasians in Cuba and Porto Rico being smothered by a black cloud. There will be no smothering of the African either, but there will

be a white preponderance large enough to settle the race question.

We may analyze and study the natives of Cuba and Porto Rico who are of Spanish stock with better understanding when we know that in each Island they comprise substantially two-thirds of the inhabitants, a little less in Porto Rico and a little more in Cuba. This is shown in the census compiled under the direction of the War Department by experts. It is a pleasure to refer to a government publication so comprehensive, so well digested and so trustworthy as these volumes. They furnish an example of the value of utilizing trained intelligence.

By this census we find that in Porto Rico out of a total of 953,243 the native-born inhabitants number 939,371, of whom 578,000 are white and 361,367 colored. In Cuba the proportion is 1,067,354 whites to 505,443 blacks and mulattoes. That means a full million persons of Spanish birth or descent.

"We all know," says Walter Bagehot, "how much a man is apt to be like his ancestors." This observation applies to the natives of both Islands, but with greater force, I think, to those of Cuba. In both instances we may be sure they take after their ancestors from Spain and its adjoining possessions. Nor is the ancestry remote. "Two hundred years," said a chronicler nearly a century ago in describing Porto Rico and her people, "are lost in obscurity." For an understanding of the inhabitants of the present day it is not necessary to grope in darkness seeking to recover those lost pages of history. We know that as in Cuba the Indian race is extinct and that the Indian mixture of which some travelers have discoursed is an imaginary one.

The ancestry of the present generation of Porto Rican natives need not be traced back more than a century and a quarter. Originally the immigration was from the southern part of Spain, Andalusia and Castile having the right to people the Island to the exclusion of the other provinces of

the Peninsula. Andalusia furnished the larger number and left the stronger impress, but in time the prohibition was raised and the emigrants mingled in one stream, which had its sources in all parts of Spain. Ultimately the stream became a swollen one and the little Island, through immigration and natural increase, had all the inhabitants she could sustain. This happened a good many years ago, so it may be said that the major proportion of the natives of Porto Rico are of Spanish blood two or three generations removed. The result we have to-day is a thin-blooded people, living chiefly on vegetable diet and physically degenerated from their sturdy ancestors. It is an agricultural population, the bulk of which is called peons. The majority of the peons live worse than the field laborers, so far as I have been able to observe, anywhere else in the West Indies. Their dwellings are very small, thatched huts raised two or three feet from the ground and rarely containing more than one room, though sometimes there is a board or a canvas partition. The number of inmates seldom is less than half a dozen and more often is ten or twelve. They are prolific in their poverty. Most of them do not own their huts. These belong to the coffee, tobacco or sugar planters. It is a consequence of the old political conditions, which kept the peons practically as serfs of the soil.

The more general term for the Porto Rico countrymen is *gibaros*. The name implies a larger degree of personal independence than applies to the peons, for the *gibaros* often are small land owners. Both peons and *gibaros* are a peaceful, easygoing people, guileless and trustful. As I have found them they are obliging and hospitable, though the population is too crowded for unstinted hospitality. The observer from the north always calls them lazy. Usually they are pictured by travelers as lolling in hammocks or twanging the gourd guitar while waiting for the bread-fruit, the orange or the cocoanut to drop from the overhanging tree into their mouths. Their amusements are sedentary,

the cocking main being the chief one because it requires the least exertion. I am not going to lighten the shades of this picture, yet one or two observations may be in point. The indolence of the tropics is inherent. The visitor from the temperate zone who has had previous experience, if he wants to do anything calling for effort is wise enough to do it at once, for as the days pass he has less inclination for exertion, even where pleasure or entertainment is the object. If the reservoirs of energy stored up by the native of the north are so soon exhausted, how much should be expected from a people who must go back fifty, one hundred or one hundred and fifty years for their original storehouse of energy?

During the Spanish rule the government was placed so far above the people of Porto Rico that they are not to be blamed if, in the beginning, they abuse the broader privileges which have come to them under American institutions. Their first tendency was intolerance. When elections were held they applied literally the doctrine that the spoils belong to the victors. Perhaps American politicians would take this as evidence of a highly developed capacity for self-government. They proposed not only to fill the offices with their own friends, but also to make their enemies pay all the taxes. It was simply the rebound from conditions under which they had no part in filling the offices and no share in raising the taxes.

The tendency to political abstractions may be noted as a part of the Latin temperament. An outcropping of it was seen in Porto Rico. When the American Congress remitted two million dollars of revenue to the Island, one enthusiast proposed that the sum should be expended in erecting a magnificent Temple of Justice. The practical American officials spent the money in building roads and school-houses.

In Cuba native-born persons, whether white or black, or of foreign parentage, are called Criollos, or Creoles. How-

ever, in common usage the term more often is applied to the white Cubans, and this means chiefly the inhabitants who are of Spanish descent. In the fierce protests against bad government the line between the Spaniards of to-day—that is those born in the Peninsula and its adjacent Islands—and the Spaniards of yesterday—that is those whose fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers were born there—sometimes used to be drawn as if they were alien and antagonistic races. But it does not need a scientific analysis to caution us against mistaking passing and justifiable political passion for racial antipathy when the race is one.

Here I am reminded of what James Anthony Froude, the English historian, said when in his despairing survey of the British West Indies he turned aside to contrast them with the Spanish possessions. "We English," he wrote, "have built in those Islands as if we were but passing visitors wanting only tenements to be occupied for a time. The Spaniards built as they build in Castile and they carried with them their laws, their habits, their institutions and their creed. . . . Whatever the eventual fate of Cuba, the Spanish race has taken root there, and is visibly destined to remain. Spanish, at any rate, they are to the bone and marrow, and Spanish they will continue."

We must go back to Catalonia, Andalusia and the shores of the Mediterranean; to the Canaries and the Balearic Islands; to Asturias, Galicia and the Basque provinces of Spain for the customs, habits, traditions, creed, amusements, language and tendencies of the natives of Cuba. Preferably we should give the most attention to Catalonia, Galicia and Asturias, for it is from these three provinces that the major portion of the later immigration has come.

A certain village in the far interior of Cuba was a hot-house of revolutionary agitation. I visited it at the close of the war when the American military authorities were concerned over the threat of reprisals against the Spaniards. The Cubans professed to hate the whole race and in those

days when long-restrained passion was finding vent they thought they did hate their own parent stem. They told me the two classes had nothing in common. Yet they had everything in common. The well from which the children were drawing water was of even more ancient origin than Spanish, for it was of the older Moorish construction known as the *noria*. That day there was a *fiesta* or church holiday. The *baile*, or dance, which was a feature of the evening celebration, and which I witnessed, varied only a shade from the representation of the customs of Galicia, which I had seen at the leading Spanish theatre in Havana a few evenings previously. The music was an air which had floated over from the Gulf of Biscay. The entertainment provided me at the *posada*, or inn, was such as I had read of in the pages of Gil Blas. The houses were like those in an eighteenth century print of Don Quixote. On a later day mass was celebrated by the priest for the repose of the soul of Antonio Maceo and other Cuban insurgents, and the ceremonial was that of the Spanish Church in the middle ages. After seeing these things I did not give much heed to the Cuban's talk that they hated the whole Spanish race. Root and branch were too much alike for the hatred to endure.

Then there is the *guajiro*, or countryman, seated at the door of his *bohio*, or palm-thatched cabin, playing his guitar. Usually he is portrayed in his broad straw hat with fringed edges, the front turned in a flap and exposing his honest face while the back slopes down over his neck. The hat is known as the *sanjuanero*, because of its universal use on the feast day of St. John the Baptist, a popular Spanish holiday. To the accompaniment of the guitar is sung a ballad, called a *decima*, or a *cancion*. All this is a characteristically Cuban picture. The traveler will see it wherever he goes throughout the Island. Yet it is a Spanish picture, too, and the *decimas* and *canciones*, though the subjects are local, are frequently mere repetitions of the provincial songs and ballads heard among the Spanish peasantry.

Differences are noted in the natives of the different provinces of Cuba, due chiefly to the immigration from which was drawn the original stock. The Spanish strain of blood is preserved in its greatest purity in the central region of Puerto Principe or Camagüey. Though sparsely settled, three-fourths of the population of this section is white. For half a century the Camagüeyans were the most intense revolutionists. They vindicated their Spanish fighting ancestry by their armed opposition to Spanish government. Their free, open-air life and their isolation from the rest of the Island strengthened their independence of a governing country across the seas, yet they kept unchanged Castilian traditions and usages. Sometimes it has seemed to me that among these people could be traced the Moorish blood and a survival of the customs of Granada. The men are stronger physically and more responsive mentally than in other parts of Cuba, and of the women it has been said that they present the Spanish type slightly modified and perhaps embellished by the soft skies of the tropics. The inland city of Puerto Principe, with its narrow streets and overhanging balconies is a perfect reproduction of many towns in Spain. I have been told by travelers that the houses might be mistaken for those of Seville or Cordova. And it must be said that heretofore the inhabitants of Camagüey have shown themselves as unprogressive in public improvements, and as strongly opposed to innovations as the old towns of Spain. They have inordinate pride, a true Spanish trait, the mark of ignorance and isolation. This quality is redeemed by their courtesy and hospitality.

We may be asked to believe that all the sturdy qualities of the Spanish peasantry have been lost in the transfusion of the tropics, like a flower that has gone to seed; but while allowance must be made for the modifications of temperament due to climate and environment, I think we will find that the native Cuban of to-day, when the depths of his nature are sounded, is not materially different from his Cas-

tilian forbear. It has been well said that the peasantry were the secret of Spain's greatness in the past, and perhaps may be the secret of her greatness in the future; a peasantry who were noted for their freedom, independence, endurance and native nobility. In Asturias every toiler was a prince; in Castile every man was an hidalgo. Says a recent writer in treating of the Spanish people: "Proud, self-respecting dignity; simple, sober habits; native good manners and kindness are the characteristics of all classes of the nation."

How far have these characteristics been changed by transplantation to tropical surroundings? The Spaniard in Cuba still prides himself that he is *un hombre serio*, a serious-minded man. As for the native Cubans, during the last four years I have had the opportunity to observe them under all conditions, though more frequently in adversity than in prosperity. The traits described are of an agricultural people, and the Cubans are essentially an agricultural people, and must continue so. Of their hospitality no one who has traveled over the Island can entertain a doubt. It is simple and genuine. No conventional hypocrisy gilds it. It has been said that hospitality wanes as civilization advances. If that be true, whoever has known country life in Cuba will rejoice secretly over the slow advance of a supposedly superior civilization.

Politeness and courtesy go with this hospitality. Then there is an obliging disposition and a goodnature which is one of the defects of character. The Cuban does not like to hurt your feelings by telling you unpleasant truths, so he is apt to agree with you. Though he knows you are wrong and will carry away wrong impressions, he will let you do so rather than contradict you.

Another example of goodnature is seen in the blunted moral sensibility which has come from long training under corrupt government. The Cuban or Spaniard does not fully subscribe to the saying "to rob the state is not to rob." When he knows of some one who is stealing he may remon-

strate privately with the thief. He even may give a hint of the peculation, yet he shrinks from open denunciation and from the inconvenience which may be caused to himself and to the thief by a public exposure. It is his goodnature that makes him recoil from the penalty of wrongdoing just as it causes him to sanction the wasting of public funds for the benefit of individuals. This goodnature is one of the obstacles to many reforms in government, or measures which appear to American eyes as reforms. To my own mind it always will be a question whether the jury system is a real palladium of liberty among a goodnatured people.

The temperance and sobriety of all classes of the Cuban population are partly due to climatic influences, yet there is a moderation in methods of living and in recreation which is a Spanish inheritance and is not due to climate. It requires an effort on the part of the strenuous American to be temperate in anything, but the Cubans are temperate without effort. Their peaceful disposition is universal. They are not quarrelsome among themselves or with strangers. A darker shade of their character may be found in the revengefulness with which supposed injuries are righted; hence sometimes the ambush, the knife in the dark, even the assassination, and the burning of the sugar planter's cane for revenge.

There is also the duplicity which is employed to foil policies and purposes. Duplicity is the weapon of the weak. Without it revolution against the superior power of Spain never could have succeeded. While it exists among native Cubans to an unpleasant extent it is offset by a high degree of trust in those who gain their goodwill. This is another trait of a people who can be led but not driven. Distrust and suspicion once aroused the sullen characteristics appear. These are one manifestation of passive or moral resistance. They are worthy the study of statesmen, for it was the passive resistance of the Cuban people, the natives of Spanish origin, which thwarted the government of Spain

in the dying years of the nineteenth century and ended the glorious pageant of colonial history which was ushered in with the discoveries of Columbus.

This positive resistance was illustrated in its highest form during the period of insurrection which was marked by the Weyler reconcentration. There is in the Spanish nature an indifference to physical suffering, of which the Inquisition, the cruelties of the *Conquistadores*, the extermination of the native Indians, are the black monuments of history. The passive manifestation was seen during the reconcentration, and was seen in heroic aspects, too. Stoic philosophy, inflexible determination were shown by a people conscious of their own doom of extinction, giving their moral support to a revolution which they were too weak to abet physically, and offering a passive opposition to the military measures of the Spanish government which was more potent than could have been an army in the field. When the *campesinos*, *guajiros*, or countrymen, endured all this, they were designated as *pacíficos*. The country inhabitants of Cuba to-day rightly might be called *pacíficos*, for with anything like good government they are the most peaceful people in the world.

Often I witnessed this same stoicism or physical endurance among the Spanish soldiers. The recollection of it causes me to smile when the effort is made to draw a fundamental distinction between the native Cubans and their Spanish ancestors. Seeing the peasant lads of Spain bearing the neglect and abuse of their officers with the patience of dumb brutes; watching them die by the thousands from the fevers; observing their distress scarcely less keen than that of the reconcentrados, I wondered at their failure to mutiny and speculated on the processes which through the centuries had produced this docility, yet the one point always stood out and this was their capacity to sustain suffering. Cuban reconcentrado and Castilian soldier lad alike showed it, but on the part of the soldier it was passive endurance alone,

while with the mass of the Cuban population it was passive resistance. Moreover, on their side always were some bold leaders among whom the spirit of revolt was active, and with the Negro infusion they kept up an insurrectionary movement which dragged the *pacíficos*, half doubtingly and half sympathetically, after them. Kindred to these qualities of endurance, which perhaps is only one form of fatalism, are others. They are apathy, lethargy, inertia, lack of the initiative faculty.

It may excite surprise to characterize as sentimental a people who in their endurance and their resistance have so many elements of stoicism, yet the Cubans of all classes are sentimental in the highest degree. By sentiment I do not mean merely Latin emotionalism, which is temperamental. With these people there is the deepest affection for their land. No one who has dwelt under its kindly skies, and who has experienced the impressiveness of the palm-tree landscape, can fail to sympathize with that feeling. The sentiment now is seeking for the realization of aspirations and ideals in the symbolism of a Cuban flag. That symbolism the United States is striving to guarantee under the lightest of restrictions and without thwarting the patriotic Cuban aspiration for independence which, however disappointing in its first results, is worthy of respect.

From what has been stated of the characteristics and traits of the natives of Cuba, an idea may be had of the lines along which their development should be sought. It should not be by doing violence to customs, traditions, laws and institutions which have been inherited from their Spanish ancestors, or to sentiments which have sprung from the soil and have become part of their own being. The development of the Cuban people that is to be a homogeneous people is even more a social and industrial problem than a question of political government. Here we are likely to be met with the usual off-hand assumption that the indolence of the tropics bars progress. I think a more correct definition

of this indolence of the tropics was that given by a Porto Rican author. He called it "the negative inclination to work." When we approach the sociological side we may have repeated to us Mr. Ingersoll's famous word picture of a colony of New England preachers and Yankee school-ma'ams established in the West Indies and the third generation riding bareback on Sunday to the cock fights.

On the industrial side it is the old idea of slave labor and later of coolie labor as the only mechanism which is capable of working under a burning sky. Leaving out the human element in this manner, naturally we must exclude the stimulus and incentive to greater enjoyment and greater comfort in living. I am one of those who, from somewhat limited observation, believe that the negative inclination to work can be turned into a positive disposition to labor. In Hawaii, in Cuba, Porto Rico and other West India Islands it always has seemed to me a question of the management of men rather than of abstract deductions regarding labor in the tropics. That the human energies shall be exerted with the same fierce zeal or the same sustained effort as in the north we do not expect, but sustained effort is not impossible.

Philosophical generalizations in dealing with this subject are so easy that I hesitate to descend from that high plane to the level of concrete instances which may controvert philosophy. Yet here are a few illustrations.

We hardly need be told that in Porto Rico most of the natives go barefoot. An American official who was charged with penitentiary administration was distressed by the idleness of the convicts. He set them to work at various useful occupations. One of these occupations which they learned most readily was making shoes. Few of these convict shoemakers ever had worn foot-leather. When some of those whose sentences were light were released their first move was to seek work in order to earn money with which to buy shoes. The American official did not pretend to be a political economist, but when he got to thinking it

over he reached the conclusion that the Porto Rican natives would work harder whenever they became possessed with the notion that there was more comfort in wearing shoes than in going barefoot. I think he was right. American contractors who were building bridges, constructing roads and doing other work of that kind, always complained of the laziness of the natives, yet some of them would admit that when they put the incentive of more comfort before the peons or laborers they got better results.

In Havana last winter an electric railway was being constructed and much of the work had to be done under high pressure. It was in charge of a shrewd young American engineer who at one time had 2,700 men under him. Everybody predicted his failure in completing the contract. Everybody was sure that the white and the black Cubans and the Spanish peasants could not be relied on. The engineer did not argue the proposition. He knew human nature and he knew how to select good subordinates. They in their turn knew how to handle men. They urged the laborers by example and they set forth the inducements for hard work. The electric railway was finished on time. The young American told me that the labor capacity of the Havana individual workingman was as high as the labor capacity of the individual workingman in Pittsburg. On that calculation he completed his contract.

Some of us who had known Cuba in the days when the torches of the insurgents and the torches of the Spanish troops were rendering it a charred wilderness, were surprised this season to note everywhere the evidences of recuperation. All the planters were ruined and few of them were able to get the money with which to replant their estates, yet the sugar crop this year is larger than it has been for six years past. The bankers in Havana and the railway managers all over the Island, knowing the poverty of resources, have been surprised at the extent of the cane planting. Many of them told me that they hardly knew

how it was done, but that the country people somehow managed to do it. They wanted their homes again and they wanted some of the comforts of life. That was the inducement. An indolent people, without incentive to shake off tropical lethargy, never would have done it. I could give a dozen similar cases in which these Cuban countrymen were aroused from their apathy, but the recital would take too long.

Can we forecast the future from these scattered instances? Probably the philosopher will say no, but I believe Cuban *guajiro* and the Porto Rican *gibaro* can be made to want more to eat; to desire a larger cabin with something besides a palm thatching; can develop an ambition to provide for his housewife more kitchen utensils than the single pot or kettle which is hung over the charcoal fire; can be induced to long for straw mattings and chairs for his humble dwelling; to emulate his neighbor in procuring an extra calico dress for his wife and daughters, and something besides a ragged pair of duck or linen trousers and a cheap cotton shirt for himself. In my mind's eye I also see the time when through some neighbor's example he will want to have his children going to the country school, and his pride will cause him to exert himself laboriously so that they may be clothed with more garments than has been the custom in the tropics. These are homely illustrations and may carry no profound truths, yet let this condition of emulation apply to a million people and let the inducements to higher living be set forth, is it certain then that the ease of supplying the bare needs of existence in a warm country will clog all the incentives and the stimulus to labor?

Of what might be called the political traits or the characteristics for self-government I shall have to treat briefly. Something of them may be learned from what has been said of the habits, customs, traditions and environment. For a century only the destructive tendencies of the Cubans could find expression; hence conspiracies, revolts, insurrections

and active or passive revolution. The great Nation which has most to do with the future development of Cuba and her people, of all perils will beware of arousing their passive resistance. A discerning observer from Spain at the beginning of the last insurrection, told his countrymen that passive resistance was the characteristic of the Island. Does the country produce it? he asked, and then continued. Perhaps it is the climate? Perhaps it is the child of tropical influences? He did not answer his own question of its origin satisfactorily, but he noted that this passive resistance was the hidden rock against which the strongest will and the most resolute purpose were shattered. Let the United States avoid the hidden rock.

While the Cuban character for a century was shown in its destructive tendencies, a final judgment cannot be formed of its constructive and administrative capacity by a trial of two or three years. On the part of any people centuries of the lack of training in political education and of practice in popular and representative government cannot be corrected in the experience of a twelve-months. It is easy to point out the defects and vices of the Spanish nature and their inheritance and modifications in the Cuban character. No great exertion of the intellect is required to sneer at racial weaknesses which are patent and which proclaim themselves. But human progress is not along these lines. It is advanced by appealing to the virtues, not by exploiting the vices of a people. In their present experiment, to realize their aspirations there should be stretched out to the Cubans not the strong hand, but the helping hand, of the United States.

Following the topic assigned to me, I have sought to confine myself closely to the natives of Spanish blood and their influence in the future of the two West India Islands with which the United States is most intimately concerned. I would not be understood as ignoring the effect of immigration from this country, for there will be an immigration and a commingling of the two peoples. Cuba will be benefited

by the presence and the example of many Americans who will settle in the Island. Yet for years, the bulk of the arrivals, following the course which is indicated, will be from Spain. This will reinforce the existing two-thirds of the population which is of Spanish stock. It means a reinforcement of the Castilian language, of Spanish traditions, religious faith, customs, manners, habits of thinking and methods of living. In other words it renews and refreshes the Spanish strain among the native Cubans. In all our dealings with the Cuban people this must be kept in mind.

"The luxuriant zone of the tropics," says Humboldt, "offers the strongest resistance to changes in the natural distribution of vegetable forms." The analogy holds in political and social institutions. Tenacious of everything that has been his, the Spaniard transplanted to the tropics acquires greater resistance. Pushed, he becomes stubborn and unyielding. Persuaded, he may be led if too great violence is not done to his convictions. To lead and guide, not to drive, is the American solution of the race problems in the West Indies.

Appendix

FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
American Academy of Political and
Social Science.

Philadelphia, April 12 and 13, 1901.

“AMERICA’S RACE PROBLEMS.”

The Fifth Annual Meeting proved to be the best attended and most successful the Academy has yet held. The timeliness of the topics discussed and the exceptionally even and high standard of excellence of the papers presented throughout the meeting called forth many words of praise from those present, and were reflected in the newspaper comments upon the various sessions.

The meeting was called to order by the President, in the Assembly Room of the Manufacturers’ Club, on Friday afternoon, at 3 o’clock. Dr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia, was introduced as the presiding officer. He spoke briefly upon the topic of the session, namely, The Races of the Pacific, and upon the particular qualifications of the speakers announced on the program. He then introduced Dr. Titus Munson Coan, of New York City, who gave an address upon the Natives of Hawaii. Dr. Coan is the son of a missionary to Hawaii, and was himself born on the island and resided there for over nineteen years. He spoke most entertainingly of the personal impressions of a native-born, of the characteristics of the people and of their habits and customs. He dwelt at some length upon the Polynesian checks to population practiced in the Hawaiian Islands as in other sections of Polynesia.

Following Dr. Coan the Rev. Charles C. Pierce, D. D., United States Army Chaplain, now stationed at Fort Myer, Virginia, who has recently returned from over two years of service in the Philippines, spoke upon the Tagals, giving a very vivid picture of these people in their relation to the other tribes in the Philippine Islands. He emphasized especially the fact that the Tagal is an alien in the Philippines and that his influence and capabilities are much over-rated. One incident of this session which is deserving of mention, occurred in the discussion following these papers when Rev. Dr. Charles Colman, of Philadelphia, bore witness to the efficiency of Chaplain Pierce's services in the Philippines. Dr. Colman said that he had two sons in the war, of whom one died in Cuba while the other returned from the Philippine Islands a physical wreck. Speaking of the latter he said, "In those long and weary days which followed his home-coming, he often talked with me of the brave deeds of his companions in the tropical campaign and of his experiences in the hospital after he was stricken with disease. But, sir, there was one man about whom he frequently spoke—one whom he held in the highest regard and esteem. He has told me of his unfaltering courage and of his unshaken faith, of the comfort which he brought and of the cheering words he spoke to the sick and lonely, of his loving ministrations to the dying and of the patience and persistence with which he attended the affairs of the dead; no soldier passed on his way from those foreign shores to await the final reveille whose body was not taken in charge by this all-powerful man, and there is no case on record of an unidentified body in the province of his duties." Dr. Colman further declared that he did not know Dr. Pierce, but was very glad to have this opportunity of publicly expressing his appreciation of the man. The incident produced a marked impression upon the meeting and, along with other expressions of admiration for Dr. Pierce's work, lent peculiar interest to what he had to say.

A paper by Rev. Oliver C. Miller, A. M., Chaplain of the United States Army, upon the Semi-Civilized Tribes of the Philippines, was read by title, and is printed in the volume of Proceedings. Dr. Miller is now stationed at the Presidio, San Francisco.

The second session was called to order by the President of the Academy at the New Century Drawing Room, on Friday evening, at 8 o'clock. The President reviewed the work of the Academy during the year since the last annual meeting, calling attention to the large demand for a wide circulation of the Academy's publications during the year, and especially of the volume on "Corporations," containing the addresses at the last annual meeting. He also described the encouraging growth of the Academy in numbers and influence, and showed how, through the publications, work done by the Academy at its local meetings, was extended throughout the country. The need of a larger measure of co-operation among the members of the Academy, in securing the facilities for making its work permanent, and the peculiar responsibility resting upon an organization of this character, when public education on social and economic questions is so imperative, was emphasized. Professor Lindsay then introduced, as the orator of the evening, Professor Edward A. Ross, of Nebraska University, who delivered the annual address. The subject which Professor Ross treated ably in the course of an hour's address was "The Causes of Race Superiority." Following the annual address an informal reception was held, at which the members and their friends and invited guests were given an opportunity to meet the speakers of the annual meeting.

On Saturday morning, April 13, many of the out-of-town visitors assembled by invitation at 9.30 at the Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania, where they were received by the Curator, Dr. Stewart Culin, who personally conducted the party and described the valuable

collections of the Museum. In the Assyrian department Dr. Clay, who is associated with Professor Hilprecht, gave a very interesting explanation of the tablets recently excavated at Nippur and constituting the earliest record of civilization which has yet been found. Another party gathered at the Philadelphia Commercial Museum at 10.30, where Mr. Tingle, one of the officers of the Museum, was in waiting. After a brief address on the consular service of the United States, he conducted the party through the Museum and explained the large and valuable collections of industrial products from all over the world, which the Museum has collected.

On both days a large number of members and guests gathered for luncheon at the Manufacturers' Club, which extended to the Academy throughout the meeting the freedom of its club house, as did also the Art Club of Philadelphia and other social organizations.

The third session was called to order at 3 o'clock on Saturday afternoon, and Colonel Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama, ex-Secretary of the Navy, was introduced as the presiding officer, the topic of the session being "The Race Problem at the South." Colonel Herbert gave an eloquent address presenting a typical Southern white man's view of the relations of the whites to the negroes. He then introduced President George T. Winston, of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, who addressed the meeting on the same topic. During the course of his remarks President Winston pictured the conditions existing before the war, and claimed that the social relations between whites and negroes at that time were far superior to those at present, and that of late the races had been drifting apart rather than coming together.

The third and last address at this session was given by Professor W. E. Burghardt DuBois, of Atlanta University, who analyzed with peculiar calmness and ability the "Relation of the Negroes to the Whites." By many present

this address was regarded as the feature of the whole program. A paper by President Booker T. Washington, of Tuskegee, upon the same topic, was read by title.

A peculiar interest centered in the closing session, at which Senator Orville H. Platt, of Connecticut, chairman of the Senate Committee on Relations with Cuba, and author of the Platt amendment which was then under discussion in the Cuban Constitutional Convention—reports of which seemed to indicate that it had been rejected—addressed the Academy on "Our Relations to the People of Cuba and Porto Rico." Also at this session Mr. Charles M. Pepper, author and journalist, who has recently been appointed as one of the delegates of the United States government to the Pan-American Congress which will assemble in the city of Mexico in October, gave an address on "The Spanish Population of Cuba and Porto Rico." Both of these addresses were listened to by a large and attentive audience. At the conclusion of the meeting, on Saturday evening, the Manufacturers' Club gave a reception to the speakers at the annual meeting and other invited guests, among whom were many of the members of the Academy.

The Committee desires to take this opportunity to express its thanks, as well as those of the officers and members of the Academy, to the Provost and authorities of the University of Pennsylvania, to the President and Directors of the Manufacturers' Club, to the Director and Board of Trustees of the Philadelphia Commercial Museums, to the Union League, University and Art Clubs, and to many individuals who cannot here be mentioned by name who co-operated with the Committee in extending hospitality to the speakers and visiting members of the Academy on the occasion of the Annual Meeting. The Manufacturers' Club, as on previous occasions, gave us the use of its Assembly Room and practically of its Club House during the two days of our sessions.

The expenses of the meeting were met in part by an

appropriation from the treasury of the Academy and in part by a special fund, to which leading citizens, interested in the educational purpose of the meeting and recognizing its importance, contributed.

As a matter of record the Committee desires in conclusion to note the other scientific sessions of the Academy held during the interval between the Fourth and Fifth Annual Meetings, as follows :

NOVEMBER 20, 1900, SIXTY-SEVENTH SCIENTIFIC SESSION.

Subject.—"The Causes of the Unpopularity of the Foreigner in China."

Addresses by—The Chinese Minister, His Excellency Wu Ting-fang, Washington, D. C.; Rev. William A. P. Martin, D. D., LL. D., President of the Imperial University of Peking, and the Honorable George F. Seward, Ex-Minister to China.

DECEMBER 18, 1900, SIXTY-EIGHTH SCIENTIFIC SESSION.

Subject.—"The Problem of the Tropics."

Addresses by—Professor John H. Finley, Princeton University; Honorable Frederico Degetau, Commissioner from Porto Rico to the United States, and General Roy Stone, member of General Miles' Staff in Porto Rico.

JANUARY 15, 1901, SIXTY-NINTH SCIENTIFIC SESSION.

Subject.—"Recent Tendencies in Free Political Institutions."

Addresses by—Honorable J. L. M. Curry, LL. D., Ex-Minister to Spain and General Secretary of the Peabody and Slater Educational Funds, on "Centralization in Government and the Causes of the Present Decay in Local Government and Some of Its Remedies;" Dr. Albert Shaw, Editor of the *Review of Reviews*, and Dr. James T. Young, University of Pennsylvania.

FEBRUARY 19, 1901, SEVENTIETH SCIENTIFIC SESSION.

Subject.—"The Isthmian Canal."

Addresses by—Professor Emory R. Johnson, University of Pennsylvania, on "The Political and Economic Aspects of the Isthmian Canal," and Colonel Peter C. Hains, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., on "The Military Value of the Canal."

Finally, the Committee on Meetings takes pleasure in expressing its gratitude to the speakers who have taken part in the various meetings of the year and who have given us generously of their time and service, without other compensation than the sense of satisfaction which comes from having performed a public duty and having had a part in the educational work which the Academy is doing.

The social features of our meetings have added much to their pleasure and profit and the Committee begs to thank the following ladies who have served upon one or other of the Reception Committees during the year: Mrs. Charles Custis Harrison (chairman), Mrs. DeForest Willard (vice-chairman), Mrs. Leverett Bradley, Mrs. John H. Converse, Mrs. Stephen W. Dana, Mrs. Theodore N. Ely, Mrs. Adam H. Fetterolf, Mrs. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Mrs. Edward M. Paxson, Mrs. Charles Roberts, Mrs. Henry Rogers Seager, Mrs. Talcott Williams, Mrs. Owen Wister, Mrs. Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY,

Chairman.

SIMON N. PATTEN,

LEO S. ROWE,

HENRY R. SEAGER,

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} *Committee on Meetings.*

